
CHAPTER 15

Prosody

It isn't **what** you said; it's **how** you said it!
Sheridan pointed out the importance of prosody more than 200 years ago [53]:

Children are taught to read sentences, which they do not understand; and as it is impossible to lay the emphasis right, without perfectly comprehending the meaning of what one reads, they get a habit either of reading in a monotone, or if they attempt to distinguish one word from the rest, as the emphasis falls at random, the sense is usually perverted, or changed into nonsense.

Prosody is a complex weave of physical, phonetic effects that is being employed to express attitude, assumptions, and attention as a parallel channel in our daily speech communication. The semantic content of a spoken or written message is referred to as its *denotation*, while the emotional and attentional effects intended by the speaker or inferred by a listener are part of the message's *connotation*. Prosody has an important supporting role in guiding a listener's recovery of the basic messages (denotation) and a starring role in signal-

ing connotation, or the speaker's attitude toward the message, toward the listener(s), and toward the whole communication event.

From the listener's point of view, prosody consists of systematic perception and recovery of a speaker's intentions based on:

- ☐ **Pauses:** to indicate phrases and to avoid running out of air.
- ☐ **Pitch:** rate of vocal-fold cycling (fundamental frequency or F0) as a function of time.
- ☐ **Rate/relative duration:** phoneme durations, timing, and rhythm.
- ☐ **Loudness:** relative amplitude/volume.

Pitch is the most expressive of the prosodic phenomena. As we speak, we systematically vary our fundamental frequency to express our feelings about what we are saying, or to direct the listener's attention to especially important aspects of our spoken message. If a paragraph is spoken on a constant, uniform pitch with no pauses, or with uniform pauses between words, it sounds highly unnatural.

In some languages, the pitch variation is partly constrained by lexical and syntactic conventions. For example, Japanese words usually exhibit a sharp pitch fall at a certain vowel on a consistent, word-specific basis. In Mandarin Chinese [52], word meaning depends crucially on shape and register distinctions among four highly stylized syllable pitch contour types. This is a grammatical and lexical use of pitch. However, every language, and especially English, allows some range of pitch variation that can be exploited for emotive and attentional purposes. While this chapter concentrates primarily on American English, the use of some prosodic effects to indicate emotion, mood, and attention is probably universal, even in languages that also make use of pitch for signaling word identity, such as Chinese. It is tempting to speculate that speakers of some languages use expressive and affective lexical particles and interjections to express some of the same emotive effects for which American English speakers typically rely on prosody.

We discuss pausing, pitch generation, and duration separately, because it is convenient to separate them when building systems. Bear in mind, however, that all the prosodic qualities are highly correlated in human speech production. The effect of loudness is not nearly as important in synthesizing speech as the effect of the other two factors and thus is not discussed here. In addition, for many concatenative systems this is generally embedded in the speech segment.

15.1. THE ROLE OF UNDERSTANDING

To date, most work on prosody for TTS has focused exclusively on the utterance, which is the literal content of the message. That is, a TTS system learns whatever it can from the isolated, textual representation of a single sentence or phrase to aid in prosodic generation. Typically a TTS system may rely on word identity, word part-of-speech, punctuation, length of a sentence or phrase, and other superficial characteristics. As more sophisticated NLP

capabilities are deployed for use by TTS systems, deeper properties of an utterance, including its document or discourse context, can be taken into account.

Good prosody depends on a speaker or reader's understanding of the text's or message's meaning. As noted in [64], the *golden rule* of the Roman orator Quintilian (c. A.D. 90) states [32] "*That to make a man speak well, and pronounce with a right emphasis, he ought thoroughly to understand all that he says, be fully persuaded of it, and bring himself to have, those affections which he desires to infuse in others.*" This is clearly a tall order for today's computers! How important is understanding of the text's meaning, in generation of appropriately engaging prosody? Consider a stanza from Lewis Carroll's nonsense poem Jabberwocky [10]:

*Twas brillig, and the slithy toves
Did gyre and gimble in the wabe;
All mimsy were the borogoves,
And the mome raths outgrabe.*

Here, a full interpretation is not possible, owing primarily to lexical uncertainty (our ignorance of the meaning of words like *brillig*). However, you can recover a great deal of information from this passage that aids prosodic rendition. Foremost is probably the metrical structure of the poetic meter. This imposes a rhythmic constraint on prosodic phrasing (cadence, timing, and pause placement). Second, the function words such as *and*, *the*, *in*, etc. are interpretable and give rich clues about the general type and direction of action being specified. They also give us contextual hints about the part-of-speech of the neighboring nonsense words, which is a first crude step in interpreting those words' meaning. Third, punctuation is also important in this case. Using these three properties, with some analogical guesses about LTS conversions and stress locations in the nonsense words, would allow most speakers of English to render fairly pleasant and appropriate prosody for this poem.

Can a computer do the same? Where will a computer fall short of a human's performance on this task, and why? First, the carrier voice quality of a human reader is generally superior to synthesized voices. The natural human voice is more pleasant to a listener, all else being equal. As for the prosody per se, most TTS systems today use a fairly simple method to derive prosody, based on a distinction between closed-class function words, such as determiners and prepositions, which are thought to receive lesser emphasis, and open-ended sets of content words such as nouns like *wabe*, which are more likely to be accented. For this nonsense poem, that is essentially what most human readers do. Thus, if accurate LTS conversions are supplied, including main stress locations, a TTS system with a good synthetic voice and a reasonable default pitch algorithm of this type could probably render this stanza fairly well. Again, though the computer does not recognize it explicitly, the constrained rhythmic structure of the poem may be assisting.

But listeners to nonsense poems are generally not fully participating in the unconscious interpretive dialog, the attempt on the part of the listener to actively construct useful meaning from prosodic and message-content cues supplied in good faith by the speaker. Therefore, judgments of the prosodic quality of uninterpretable nonsense materials must always be suspect. In ordinary prose, the definition and recovery of *meaning* remains a slippery question. Consider the passage below [56], which is not metrically structured, has few

or no true nonsense words, and, yet, was deliberately constructed to be essentially meaningless.

In mathematical terms, Derrida's observation relates to the invariance of the Einstein field equation under nonlinear space-time diffeomorphisms (self-mappings of the space-time manifold which are infinitely differentiable but not necessarily analytic). The key point is that this invariance group 'acts transitively': this means that any space-time point, if it exists at all, can be transformed into any other. In this way the infinite-dimensional invariance group erodes the distinction between observer and observed; the π of Euclid and the G of Newton, formerly thought to be constant and universal, are now perceived in their ineluctable historicity; and the putative observer becomes fatally de-centered, disconnected from any epistemic link to a space-time point that can no longer be defined by geometry alone.

Should the fact that, say, a professional news broadcaster with no prior knowledge of the author's intent could render this supposedly meaningless passage rather well, make us suspicious of any claims regarding the necessity of deep semantic analysis for high-quality prosody? Though perhaps meaningless when taken as a whole, once again, the educated human reader can certainly recover fragments of meaning from this text sufficient to support reasonable prosody. The morphology and syntax is all standard English, which takes us a long way. The quality of the announcer's rendition degrades somewhat under the condition the computer truly faces, which can be simulated by replacing the *content words* of a sentence above with content words randomly chosen from Jabberwocky:

In brillig toves, Derrida's wabe gimble to the bandersnatch of the Tumtum whiffing raths under frumious slithy diffeomorphisms (borogoves of the mimsy mome which are beamishly vorpal but not frabjously uffish).

It is likely the human reader can still outperform the computer by reliance on morphological and syntactic cues, such as the parallelism determining the accent placements in the contrastive structure "...which ARE...but NOT ...". Nevertheless, the degree of *understanding* of a message's content that is required for convincing prosodic rendition remains a subtle question. Clearly, the more the machine or human reader knows, the better the prosodic rendition, but some of the most important knowledge is surprisingly shallow and accessible.

There is no rigorous specification or definition of meaning. The meaning of the rendition event itself is more significant than the inherent meaning of the text, if any. The meaning of the rendition event is determined primarily by the goals of the speaker and listener(s). While textual attributes such as metrical conventions, syntax, morphology, lexical semantics, topic, etc. contribute to the construction of both kinds of meaning, the meaning of the rendition event incorporates more important pragmatic and contextual elements, such as goals of the communication event, and speaker identity and attitude projection. Thus the concept-to-speech discussed in Chapter 17 has a much better chance of generating good prosody, since the content of the sentence is known by the SLU system.

15.2. PROSODY GENERATION SCHEMATIC

Figure 15.1 shows schematically the elements of prosodic generation in TTS, from pragmatic abstraction to phonetic realization. The input of the prosody module in Figure 15.1 is parsed text with a phoneme string, and the output specifies the duration of each phoneme and the pitch contour. One possible output representation of that output prosody is shown in Figure 15.2 for the sentence *The cat sat.* Up to four points per phoneme were included in this example. Often one point per phoneme is more than sufficient, except for words like *john*, where two points are needed for the phoneme /ao/ to achieve a natural prosody.

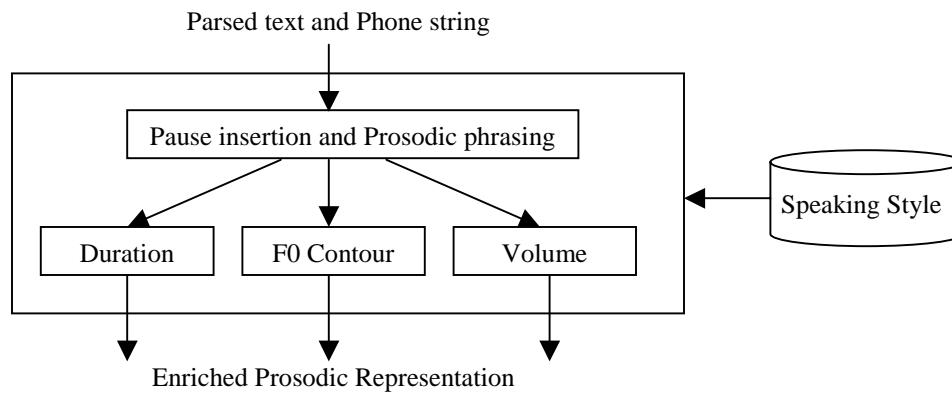


Figure 15.1 Block diagram of a prosody generation system; different prosodic representations are obtained depending on the speaking style we use.

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DH, 24      ( 0,178 );
AH0, 104    ;
#;
K, 80       (25,178)      (50,184)      (75,201);
AE1, 152    ( 0,214)      (25,213)      (50,204)      (75,193);
T, 40       ( 0,175)      (25,175)      (50,174)      (75,172);
#;
S, 104      ( 0,171)      (25,172)      (50,180)      (75,189);
AE1, 104    ( 0,198)      (25,196)      (50,168)      (75,137);
T, 112      ( 0,120)      (100,120);
#;
  
```

Figure 15.2 Enriched prosody representation, where each line contains one phoneme containing the phoneme identity, the phoneme duration in milliseconds, and a number of prosody points specifying pitch and possibly volume. Each prosody point is determined by a time point, expressed as a percentage of the phoneme's duration, and its corresponding pitch value in Hz. The symbol # is a word delimiter. For example, the fourth line specifies values for phoneme K, which lasts 80 ms and has three prosody points: the first is located at 25% of the phoneme duration, i.e., 20 ms into the phoneme, and has a pitch value of 178 Hz. Pitch in this case is specified in absolute terms in Hz, but it could also be in a logarithmic scale such as quarter-semitones relative to a base pitch.

In the next sections we describe the modules of Figure 15.1: the speaking style, symbolic prosody (including pause insertion), duration assignment, and pitch generation in that order, as usually followed by most TTS systems.

15.3. SPEAKING STYLE

Prosody depends not only on the linguistic content of a sentence. Different people generate different prosody for the same sentence. Even the same person generates a different prosody depending on his or her mood. The *speaking style* of the voice in Figure 15.1 can impart an overall tone to a communication. Examples of such global settings include a low register, voice quality (falsetto, creaky, breathy, etc), narrowed pitch range indicating boredom, depression, or controlled anger, as well as more local effects, such as notable excursion of pitch, higher or lower than surrounding syllables, for a syllable in a word chosen for special emphasis. Another example of a global effect is a very fast speaking rate that might signal excitement, while an example of a local effect would be the typical short, extreme rise in pitch on the last syllable of a *yes-no* question in American English.

15.3.1. Character

Character, as a determining element in prosody, refers primarily to long-term, stable, extralinguistic properties of a speaker, such as membership in a group and individual personality. It also includes sociosyncratic features such as a speaker's region and economic status, to the degree that these influence characteristic speech patterns. In addition, idiosyncratic features such as gender, age, speech defects, etc. affect speech, and physical status may also be a background determiner of prosodic character. Finally, character may sometimes include temporary conditions such as fatigue, inebriation, talking with mouth full, etc. Since many of these elements have implications for both the prosodic and voice quality of speech output, they can be very challenging to model jointly in a TTS system. The current state of the art is insufficient to convincingly render most combinations of the character features listed above.

15.3.2. Emotion

Temporary emotional conditions such as amusement, anger, contempt, grief, sympathy, suspicion, etc. have an effect on prosody. Just as a film director explains the emotional context of a scene to her actors to motivate their most convincing performance, so TTS systems need to provide information on the simulated speaker's state of mind. These are relatively unstable properties, somewhat independent of character as defined above. That is, one could imagine a speaker with any combination of social/dialect/gender/age characteristics being in any of a number of emotional states that have been found to have prosodic correlates, such as anger, grief, happiness, etc. Emotion in speech is actually an important area for future research. A large number of high-level factors go into determining emotional effects in speech. Among these are point of view (can the listener interpret what the speaker is really

feeling or expressing?); spontaneous vs. symbolic (e.g., acted emotion vs. real feeling); culture-specific vs. universal; basic emotions and compositional emotions that combine basic feelings and effects; and strength or intensity of emotion. We can draw a few preliminary conclusions from existing research on emotion in speech [34]:

- ☐ Speakers vary in their ability to express emotive meaning vocally in controlled situations.
- ☐ Listeners vary in their ability to recognize and interpret emotions from recorded speech.
- ☐ Some emotions are more readily expressed and identified than others.
- ☐ Similar intensity of two emotions can lead to confusing one with the other.

An additional complication in expressing emotion is that the phonetic correlates appear not to be limited to the major prosodic variables (F0, duration, energy) alone. Besides these, phonetic effects in the voice such as jitter (inter-pitch-period microvariation), or the mode of excitation may be important [24]. In a formant synthesizer supported by extremely sophisticated controls [59], and with sufficient data for automatic learning, such voice effects might be simulated. In a typical time-domain synthesizer (see Chapter 16), the lower-level phonetic details are not directly accessible, and only F0, duration, and energy are available.

Some basic emotions that have been studied in speech include:

- ☐ **Anger**, though well studied in the literature, may be too broad a category for coherent analysis. One could imagine a threatening kind of anger with a tightly controlled F0, low in the range and near monotone; while a more overtly expressive type of tantrum could be correlated with a wide, raised pitch range.
- ☐ **Joy** is generally correlated with increase in pitch and pitch range, with increase in speech rate. Smiling generally raises F0 and formant frequencies and can be well identified by untrained listeners.
- ☐ **Sadness** generally has normal or lower than normal pitch realized in a narrow range, with a slow rate and tempo. It may also be characterized by slurred pronunciation and irregular rhythm.
- ☐ **Fear** is characterized by high pitch in a wide range, variable rate, precise pronunciation, and irregular voicing (perhaps due to disturbed respiratory pattern).

15.4. SYMBOLIC PROSODY

Abstract or *symbolic prosodic* structure is the link between the infinite multiplicity of pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic features of an utterance and the relatively limited F0, phone durations, energy, and voice quality. The output of the prosody module of Figure 15.2 is a set of real values of F0 over time and real values for phoneme durations. Symbolic prosody deals with:

- Breaking the sentence into prosodic phrases, possibly separated by pauses, and
- Assigning labels, such as emphasis, to different syllables or words within each prosodic phrase.

Words are normally spoken continuously, unless there are specific linguistic reasons to signal a discontinuity. The term *juncture* refers to prosodic phrasing—that is, where do words cohere, and where do prosodic breaks (pauses and/or special pitch movements) occur. Juncture effects, expressing the degree of cohesion or discontinuity between adjacent words, are determined by physiology (running out of breath), phonetics, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. The primary phonetic means of signaling juncture are:

- Silence insertion. This is discussed in Section 15.4.1.
- Characteristic pitch movements in the phrase-final syllable. This is discussed in Section 15.4.4.
- Lengthening of a few phones in the phrase-final syllable. This is discussed in Section 15.5.
- Irregular voice quality such as vocal fry. This is discussed in Chapter 16.

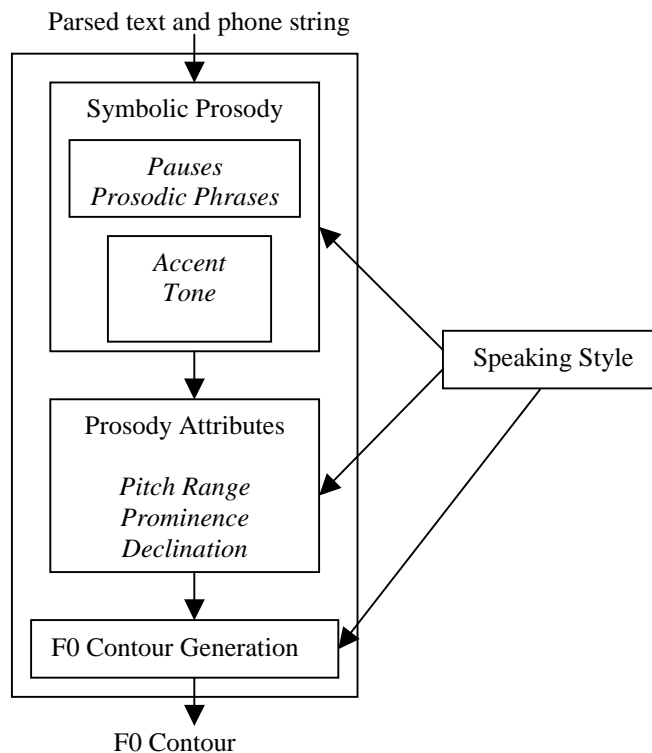


Figure 15.3 Pitch generation decomposed in symbolic and phonetic prosody.

Abstract prosodic structure or annotation typically specifies all the elements in the top block of the pitch-generation schematic in Figure 15.3, including *accents* (corresponding conceptually to *heads* in standard syntactic structure). The accent types are selected from a small inventory of *tones* for American English (e.g., high, low, rising, late-rising, scooped). The sequence of accent and juncture tones in a given prosodic structure may cohere to yield *tune*-like effects that have some holistic semantic interpretation. While we center our description in an abstract representation called ToBI, we also describe other alternate representations in Section 15.4.6. Finally, though in principle the prosody attributes module applies to all prosody variables, it is mostly used for F0 generation in practice, and as such is discussed in Section 15.6.1.

15.4.1. Pauses

In a long sentence, speakers normally and naturally pause a number of times. These pauses have traditionally been thought to correlate with syntactic structure but might more properly be thought of as markers of information structure [58]. They may also be motivated by poorly understood stylistic idiosyncrasies of the speaker, or physical constraints. In spontaneous speech, there is also the possibility that some pauses serve no linguistic function but are merely artifacts of hesitation.

In a typical system, the most reliable indicator of pause location is punctuation. After resolution of abbreviations and special symbols relevant to text normalization (Chapter 14), the remaining punctuation can be reclassified as essentially prosodic in nature. This includes periods, commas, exclamation points, parentheses, ellipsis points, colons, dashes, etc. Each of these can be taken to correspond to a prosodic phrase boundary and can be given a special pitch movement at its end-point.

In predicting pauses, although you have to consider both their occurrence and their duration, the simple presence or absence of a silence (of greater than 30 ms) is the most significant decision, and its exact duration is secondary, based partially on the current rate setting and other extraneous factors.

There are many reasonable places to pause in a long sentence, but a few where it is critical *not* to pause. The goal of a TTS system should be to avoid placing pauses anywhere that might lead to ambiguity, misinterpretation, or complete breakdown of understanding. Fortunately, most decent writing (apart from email) incorporates punctuation according to exactly this metric: no need to punctuate after every word, just where it aids interpretation. Therefore, by simply following punctuation in many writing styles, the TTS system will not go far wrong.

Consider the opening passage from Edgar Allan Poe's classic story *The Cask of Amontillado* (1846) arranged sentence-by-sentence:

1. *The thousand injuries of Fortunato I had borne as I best could, but when he ventured upon insult, I vowed revenge.*
2. *You, who so well know the nature of my soul, will not suppose, however, that I gave utterance to a threat.*

3. *At length I would be avenged; this was a point definitively settled—but the very definitiveness with which it was resolved precluded the idea of risk.*

If we place prosodic pauses at all and only the punctuation sites, the result is acceptable to most listeners, and no definite mistakes occur. Some stretches seem a bit too long, however. Perhaps the second part of sentence 3 could be broken up as follows:

but the very definitiveness with which it was resolved PAUSE precluded the idea of risk.

While commas are particularly useful in signaling pause breaks, as seen above, pauses may be optional following comma-delimited listed words (*berries, melons, and cheese.*), though the special small pitch rise typical of a minor (nonpause) break is often present.

Cases where placing a boundary in certain locations critically affects interpretation include tag questions and verb particle constructions (where the verb must not be separated from its particle), such as:

Why did you hit Joe?

Why did you hit PAUSE Joe?

He distractedly threw out the trash.

(NOT ... threw PAUSE out ...)

He distractedly gazed PAUSE out the window.

(NOT ... out PAUSE the ...)

Supplying junctures at the optimal points sometimes requires deep semantic analysis provided by the module described in Chapter 14. The need for independent methods for pause insertion has motivated some researchers to assume that no independent source of natural language analysis is available. The CART discussed in Chapter 4 can be used for pause assignment [36]. You can use POS categories of words, punctuation, and a few structural measures, such as overall length of a phrase, and length relative to neighboring phrases to construct the classification tree. The decision-tree-based system can have correct prediction of 81% for pauses over test sentences with only 4% false prediction rates. As the algorithm proceeds successively left to right through each pair of words, the following questions can be used:

- ☐ *Is this a sentence boundary (marked by punctuation)?*
- ☐ *Is the left word a content word and the right word a function word?*
- ☐ *What is the function word type of word to the right? (Certain function words are more likely to signal a break)*
- ☐ *Is either adjacent word a proper name (capitalized)?*
- ☐ *How many content words have occurred since the previous function word (If > 4 or 5 words, a break more likely)*

- ☐ *Is there a comma at this location?*
- ☐ *What is the current location in the sentence?*
- ☐ *What is the length of current proposed major phrase?*

These questions summarize the relevant knowledge, which could be formulated in expert-system rules, and augmented by high-quality syntactic knowledge if available, or trained statistically from tagged corpora.

15.4.2. Prosodic Phrases

An end-of-sentence period may trigger an extreme lowering of pitch, a comma-terminated prosodic phrase may exhibit a small *continuation rise* at its end, signaling more to come, etc. Rules based on these kinds of simple observations are typically found in commercial TTS systems. Certain pitch -range effects over the entire clause or utterance can also be based on punctuation—for example, the range in a parenthetical restrictive clause is typically narrower than that of surrounding material, while exclamations may have a heightened range, or at least higher accent targets throughout.

Prosodic junctures that are clearly signaled by silence (and usually by characteristic pitch movement as well), also called *intonational phrases*, are required between utterances and usually at punctuation boundaries. Prosodic junctures that are not signaled by silence but rather by characteristic pitch movement only, also called *phonological phrases*, may be harder to place with certainty and to evaluate. In fast speech, the silence demarcating fruits in the sentence ‘We have blueberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and blackberries.’ may disappear, yet a trace of the continuation rise on each ‘berries’ typically remains. These locations would then still qualify as minor intonation phrases, or phonological phrases.

In analyzing spontaneous speech, the nature and extent of the signaling pitch movement may vary from speaker to speaker. A further consideration for practical TTS systems is a user’s preferred rate setting: blind people who depend on TTS to access information in a computer usually prefer a fast rate, at which most sentence-internal pauses should disappear.

To discuss linguistically significant juncture types and pitch movement, it helps to have a simple standard vocabulary. ToBI (for *Tones and Break Indices*) [4, 55] is a proposed standard for transcribing symbolic intonation of American English utterances, though it can be adapted to other languages as well. The *Tones* part of ToBI is considered in greater detail in Section 15.4.4.

The *Break Indices* part of ToBI specifies an inventory of numbers expressing the strength of a prosodic juncture. The Break Indices are marked for any utterance on their own discrete *break index tier* (or layer of information), with the BI notations aligned in time with a representation of the speech phonetics and pitch track. On the break index tier, the prosodic association of words in an utterance is shown by labeling the end of each word for the subjective strength of its association with the next word, on a scale from 0 (strongest perceived conjoining) to 4 (most disjoint), defined as follows:

- ❑ **0** for cases of clear phonetic marks of clitic¹ groups (phrases with appended reduced function words); e.g., the medial affricate in contractions of *did you* or a flap as in *got it*.
- ❑ **1** most phrase-medial word boundaries.
- ❑ **2** a strong disjuncture marked by a pause or virtual pause, but with no tonal marks; i.e., a well-formed tune continues across the juncture. OR, a disjuncture that is weaker than expected at what is tonally a clear intermediate or full intonation phrase boundary.
- ❑ **3** intermediate intonation phrase boundary; i.e., marked by a single phrase tone affecting the region from the last pitch accent to the boundary.
- ❑ **4** full intonation phrase boundary; i.e., marked by a final boundary tone after the last phrase tone.

For example, a typical fluent utterance of the following sentence: *Did you want an example?* might have a 0 between *Did* and *you*, indicating palatalization of the /d j/ sequence across the boundary between these words. Similarly, the break index value between *want* and *an* might again be 0, indicating deletion of /t/ and subsequent flapping of /n/. The remaining break index values would probably be 1 between *you* and *want* and between *an* and *example*, indicating the presence of a mere word boundary, and 4 at the end of the utterance, indicating the end of a well-formed intonation phrase. The annotation is thus:

Did-0 you-1 want-0 an-1 example-4?

Without reference to any other knowledge, therefore, a system would place a 1 after every word, except where utterance-final punctuation motivates placement of 4. Perhaps comma boundaries would be marked by 4. Need any more be done? A BI of 0 correlates with any special phone substitution or modification rules for reduction in clitic groups that a TTS system may attempt. By marking the location of clitic (close association) phonetic reduction, such a BI can serve as a trigger for special duration rules that shorten the segments of the cliticized word. Whatever syntactic/semantic processing was done to propose the cliticization can serve to trigger assignment of 1. The 2 mark is generally more useful for analysis than for speech generation. You may observe that in the literature on intonation, a 3 break is sometimes referred to as an *intermediate phrase* break, or a *minor phrase* break, while a 4 break is sometimes called an *intonational phrase* break or a *major phrase* break.

15.4.3. Accent

We should briefly clarify use of terms such as stress and accent. *Stress* generally refers to an idealized location in an English word that is a potential site for phonetic prominence effects, such as extruded pitch and/or lengthened duration. This information comes from our standard lexicon. Thus, the second syllable of the word *em-**ploy**-er* is said to have the abstract

¹ Pronounced as part of another word, as in *ve* in *I've*.

property of lexical stress. In an actual utterance, if the word as a whole is sufficiently important, phonetic highlighting effects are likely to fall on the lexically *stressed* syllable:

*Acme Industries is the **biggest** employer in the **area**.*

Accent is the signaling of semantic salience by phonetic means. In American English, accent is typically realized via extruded pitch (higher or lower than the general trend) and possibly extended phone duration. Although lexical stress as noted in dictionaries is strictly an abstract property, these accent-signaling phonetic effects are usually strongest on the lexically stressed syllable of the word that is singled out for accentuation (e.g., *employer*).

In the sentence above, the word *employer* is not specially focused or contrasted, but it is an important word in the utterance, so its lexically stressed syllable typically receives a prosodic accent (via pitch/duration phonetic mechanisms), along with the other syllables in boldface. In cases of special emphasis or contrast, the lexically specified preferred location of stress in a word may be overridden in utterance accent placement:

I didn't say employer, I said employee.

It is also possible to override the primary stress of a word with the secondary stress where a neighboring word is accented. While normally we would say *Massachusetts*, we might say *Massachusetts legislature* [51].

Let's consider what might make a word accentable in context. A basic rule based on the use of POS category is to decide accentuation by *accenting all and only the content words*. Such rule is used in the baseline F0 generation system of Section 15.6.2. The content words are major open-class categories such as noun, verb, adjective, adverb, and certain strong closed-class words such as negatives and some quantifiers. Thus, the *function words*, made up of closed-class categories such as prepositions, conjunctions, etc., end up on a kind of *stop list* for accentuation, analogous to the stop lists used traditionally in simple document indexing schemes for information retrieval. This works adequately for many short, isolated sentences, such as "*The **cat sat on the mat***", where the words selected for accentuation appear in boldface. For more complex sentences, appearing in document or dialog context, such an algorithm will sometimes fail.

How often does the POS class-based stop-list approach fail? Let's consider a slightly more elaborate variant on the theme. A model was created using the Lancaster/IBM Spoken English Corpus (SEC) [3]. This includes a variety of text types, including news, academic lectures, commentary, and magazine articles. Each word in the corpus has a POS tag automatically assigned by an independent process. The model predicts the probability of a word of POS having accent status. The probability is computed based on POS class of a sequence of words in the history in the similar way as *n*-gram models discussed in Chapter 11. This simple model performed at or above 90% correct predictions for all text types. As for stress predictions that were *incorrect*, we should note that in many cases accents are optional—it is more a game of avoiding plain wrong predictions than it is of finding optimal ones. Clearly, however, there are situations that call for greater power than a simple POS-based model can provide. Even different readings of the exact same text can result in different accents [46].

Consider a simple case where a word or its base form is repeated within a short paragraph. Such words may have the necessary POS to trigger accentuation, but, since they have

already been mentioned (perhaps with varying morphological inflection), it can sound strange to highlight them again with accentuation. They are *given* or *old* information the second time around and may be deaccented. For example, the second occurrence of the noun ‘switch’ below is best not accented:

At the **corner** of the keyboard are **two switches**.

The **top** switch is **user-defined**.

To achieve this, the TTS system can keep a queue of most recently used words or normalized base forms (if morphological capability is present), and block accentuation when the next word has been used recently. The queue should be reset periodically, perhaps at paragraph boundaries [54].

Of course, the surface form of words, even if reduced to a base form or lemma by morphology, won’t always capture the deeper semantic relations that govern accentuation. Consider the following fragment extracted from Roger Rosenblatt’s essay:

Kids today are being neglected by the older generation.

Adults spend hours every day on the StairMaster, trying to

become the youth they should be **attending** to.

A simple content-word-based accentuation algorithm accents the word *youth*, because it is a noun. In context, however, it is not optimal to accent *youth*, because it is co-referent with the subject of the fragment, which is *kids today*. Thus it is, by some metrics, old or *given* information, and it had better remain unaccented. The surrounding verbs *become*, *should*, and *attending* may get extra prominence. The degree to which coreference relations, from surface identity to deep anaphora, can be exploited depends on the power of the NL analysis supporting the TTS function.

Other confusions can arise in word accentuation due to English complex nominals, where lack of, or location of, an accent may be a lexical (static) rather than a syntactic or dynamic property. Consider:

*I invited her to my **birthday** party, but she said she **can’t attend** any parties until her **grades** improve.*

One possible accent structure is indicated in boldface. Here *birthday party* functions as a complex nominal, with lexical stress on *birthday*. The word *party* should not receive stress at all, nor should its later stand-alone form *parties*. Accentuation of *improve* is optional: it is a full content word, yet somehow it also feels predictable from the context, so deaccentuation is possible. Some of the complex nominals, like *birthday party*, are fully fixed and can be entered into the lexicon as such. Others form small families of binary or *n*-ary phrases, which may be detected by local syntactic and lexical analysis. Ambiguous cases such as *moving van* or *hot dog*, which could be either nominals or adjective-noun phrases, may have to be resolved by user markup or text understanding processes.

Dwight Bolinger opined that *Accent is predictable—if you're a mind reader* [6], asserting that accentuation algorithms will never achieve perfect performance, because a writer's exact intentions cannot be inferred from text alone, and understanding is needed. However, work in [20] (similar to [3] but incorporating more sophisticated mechanics for name identification and memory of recent accented items), showed that reasonably straightforward procedures, if applied separately and combined intelligently, can yield adequate results on the accentuation task. This research has also determined that improvement occurs when the system learns that not all 'closed-class' categories are equally likely to be deaccented. For example, *closed accented* items include the negative article, negative modals, negative *do*, most nominal pronouns, most nominative and all reflexive pronouns, pre- and postqualifiers (e.g., *quite*), prequantifiers (e.g., *all*), postdeterminers (e.g., *next*), nominal adverbials (e.g., *here*), interjections, particles, most *wh*-words, plus some prepositions (e.g., *despite*, *unlike*).

One area of current and future development is the introduction of discourse analysis to synthesis of dialog. Discourse analysis algorithms attempt to delimit the time within which a given word/concept can be considered newly introduced, given, old, or reintroduced, and combined with analysis of segments within discourse and their boundary cues (turn-taking, digressions, interruptions, summarization, etc.) can supplement algorithms for accent assignment. This kind of work improves the naturalness of computer responses in human-computer dialog, as well as the accentuation in TTS renditions of pure text, when dialog must be performed (e.g., in reading a novel out loud) [44].

As noted above, user- or application-supplied annotations, based on intimate knowledge of the purpose and content of the speech event, can greatly enhance the quality by off-loading the task of automatic accent prediction. The /EMPHASIS/ tag described in Section 15.7, with several levels of strength including *reduced accent* and *no accent*, is ideally suited for this purpose.

15.4.4. Tone

Tones can be understood as labels for perceptually salient levels or movements of F0 on syllables. Pitch levels and movements on accented and phrase-boundary syllables can exhibit a bewildering diversity, based on the speaker's characteristics, the nature of the speech event, and the utterance itself, as discussed above. For modeling purposes, it is useful to have an inventory of basic, abstract pitch types that could in principle serve as the base inventory for expression of linguistically significant contrasts. Chinese, a lexical tone language, is said to have an inventory of 4 lexical tones (5 if neutral tone is included), as shown in Figure 15.4. Different speakers can realize these tones differently according to their physiology, mood, utterance content, and the speech occasion. But the variance in the tones' shapes, and contrasts with one another, remain fairly predictable, within broad limits.

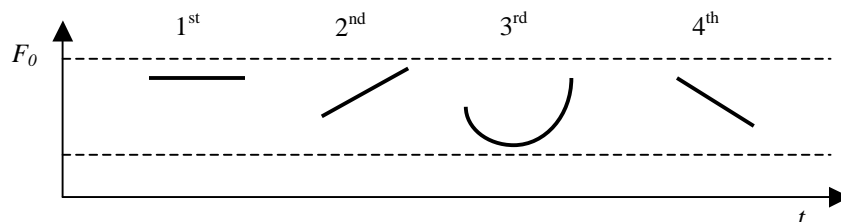


Figure 15.4 The four Chinese tones.

By analogy, linguists have proposed a relatively small set of tonal primitives for English, which can be used, in isolation or in combination, to specify the gross phonological typology of linguistically relevant contrasts found in theories of English intonational meaning [17, 28, 39]. A basic set of tonal contrasts has been codified for American English as part of the Tones and Break Indices (ToBI) system [4, 55]. These categories can be used for annotation of prosodic training data for machine learning, and also for internal modular control of F0 generation in a TTS system. The set specifies 2 abstract levels, H(igh) and L(ow), indicating a relatively higher or lower point in a speaker's range. The H/L primitive distinctions form the foundations for 2 types of entities: pitch accents, which signal prominence or culmination; and boundary tones, which signal unit completion, or delimitation. The boundary tones are further divided into phrase types and full boundary types, which would mark the ends of intonational phrases or whole utterances.

While useful as a link to syntax/semantics, the term *accent* as defined in Section 15.4.3 is a bit too abstract, even for symbolic prosody. What is required is a way of labeling linguistically significant types of pitch contrast on accented syllables. Such a system could serve as the basis for a theory of intonational meaning. The ToBI standard specifies six types of pitch accents (see Table 15.1) in American English, where the * indicates direct alignment with an accented syllable, two intermediate phrasal tones (see Table 15.2), and five boundary tones [4] (see Table 15.3).

In American English one sometimes hears a string of strictly descending pitch accent levels across a short phrase. When judiciously applied, this *downstep* effect can be pleasantly natural, as in the following sentence:

*"I saw a big-H**


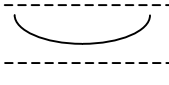

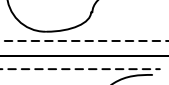
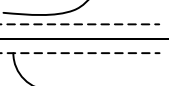

*fat-!H**

pig-!H (L-L%)"*

A basic rule used in the baseline F0 generation system of Section 15.6.2 consists in having all the pitch accents realized as H*, associated with the lexically stressed syllable of accented words. In general, ToBI representations of intonation should be sparse, specifying only what is linguistically significant. So, words lacking accent should not receive ToBI pitch accent annotations, and their pitch must be derived via interpolation over neighbors, or by some other default means. Low excursions can be linguistically significant also, in the crude sense that if I dip very low in my range on a given word, it may be perceived as prominent by listeners. L*+H and L+H* are both F0 rises on the accented syllable, but in the

case of L^*+H , the association of the starred tone (L^*) with the accented syllable may push the realization of H off to the following syllable. $!H^*$ can be used for successively lowered high accents, such as might be found on *big red car*, or *tall, dark, and handsome*. A ToBI labeled utterance is shown in Figure 15.5.

Table 15.1 ToBI pitch accent tones.

ToBI tone	Description	Graph
H^*	<i>peak accent</i> —a tone target on an accented syllable which is in the upper part of the speaker's pitch range.	
L^*	<i>low accent</i> —a tone target on an accented syllable which is in the lowest part of the speaker's pitch range	
L^*+H	<i>scooped accent</i> —a low tone target on an accented syllable which is immediately followed by relatively sharp rise to a peak in the upper part of the speaker's pitch range.	
$L^*+!H$	<i>Scooped downstep accent</i> —a low tone target on an accented syllable which is immediately followed by relatively flat rise to a downstep peak.	
$L+H^*$	<i>rising peak accent</i> —a high peak target on an accented syllable which is immediately preceded by a relatively sharp rise from a valley in the lowest part of the speaker's pitch range.	
$!H^*$	<i>Downstep high tone</i> —a clear step down onto an accented syllable from a high pitch which itself cannot be accounted for by an H phrasal tone ending the preceding phrase or by a preceding H pitch accent in the same phrase.	

A typical boundary tone is the *final lowering*, the marked tendency for the final syllable in all kinds of noninterrogative utterances to be realized on a pitch level close to the absolute bottom of a speaker's range. The final low ($L-L\%$) may 'pull down' the height of some few accents to its left as well [41].

Table 15.2 ToBI intermediate phrasal tones.

ToBI tone	Description
$L-$	Phrase accent, which occurs at an intermediate phrase boundary (level 3 and above).
$H-$	Phrase accent, which occurs at an intermediate phrase boundary (level 3 and above).

Ultimately, abstract linguistic categories should correlate with, or provide labels for expressing, contrasts in meaning. While the ToBI pitch accent inventory is useful for generating a variety of Englishlike F_0 effects, the distinction between perceptual contrast, functional contrast, and semantic contrast is particularly unclear in the case of prosody [41]. For

example, whether or not the L*, an alternative method of signaling accentual prominence, functions in full linguistic contrast to H* is unclear.

Table 15.3 ToBI boundary tones.

ToBI tone	Description
L-L%	For a full intonation phrase with an L phrase accent ending its final intermediate phrase and a L% boundary tone falling to a point low in the speaker's range, as in the standard 'declarative' contour of American English.
L-H%	For a full intonation phrase with an L phrase accent closing the last intermediate phrase, followed by an H boundary tone, as in 'continuation rise.'
H-H%	For an intonation phrase with a final intermediate phrase ending in an H phrase accent and a subsequent H boundary tone, as in the canonical 'yes-no question' contour. Note that the H- phrase accent causes 'upstep' on the following boundary tone, so that the H% after H- rises to a very high value.
H- L%	For an intonation phrase in which the H phrase accent of the final intermediate phrase upsteps the L% to a value in the middle of the speaker's range, producing a final level plateau.
%H	High initial boundary tones; marks a phrase that begins relatively high in the speaker's pitch range when not explained by an initial H* or preceding H%.

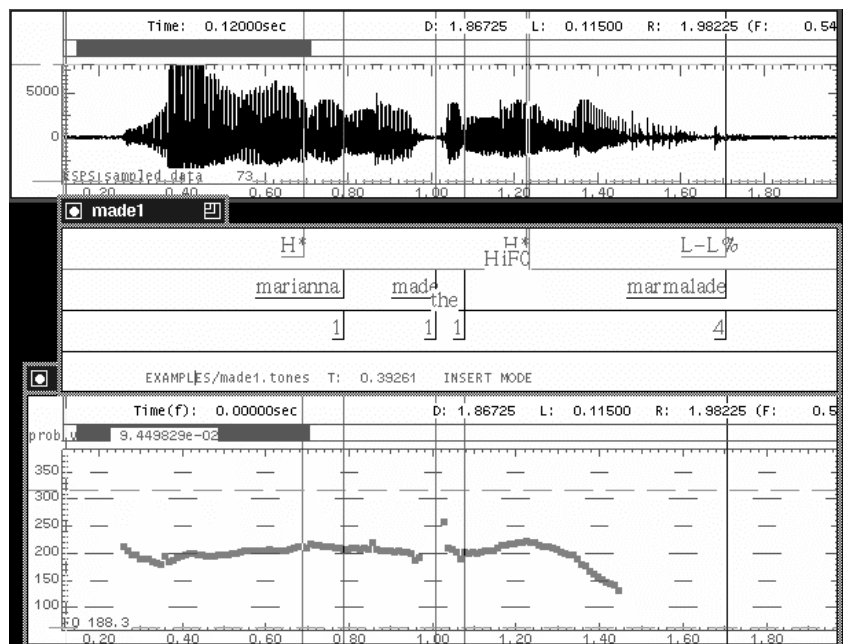


Figure 15.5 “Marianna made the marmalade”, with an H* accent on *Marianna* and *marmalade*, and a final L-L% marking the characteristic sentence-final pitch drop. Note the use of 1 for the weak inter-word breaks, and 4 for the sentence-final break (after Beckman [4]).

In addition, we have mentioned that junctures are typically marked with perceptible pitch movements that are independent of accent. The ToBI specification also allows for combinations of the H and L primitives that signal phrase, clause, and utterance boundaries. These are called phrasal tones. The ToBI specification further points out that since intonation phrases are composed of one or more intermediate phrases plus a boundary tone, full intonation phrase boundaries have two final tones. Both the intermediate phrasal tones and the boundary tones are shown in Table 15.1.

The symbolic ToBI transcription alone is not sufficient to generate a full F0 contour. The remaining components are discussed in Section 15.6.

15.4.5. Tune

Nyaah *nuh nyaah* *you* *get*
nyaah *nyaah,* *can't* *me!*
 - *Children's chant*

Some pitch contours appear to be immediately recognizable and emotionally interpretable, independent of lexical content, such as the English *children's chant* above [40]. Can this idea of stylized *tunes*, perhaps decomposable into the *tones* we examined above, be applied to the intonation of ordinary speech? In fact, the ideal use of the ToBI pitch accent labels above would be as primitive elements in holistic prosodic contour descriptions, analogous to the role of phonemes in words. Ultimately, a dictionary of meaningful contours, described abstractly by ToBI tone symbols to allow for variable phonetic realization, would constitute a theory of intonational meaning for American English. Ideally, the meanings of such contours could perhaps be derived compositionally from the meanings of their constituent pitch accent and boundary tones, thus allowing us to dispense with the dictionary altogether. Contour stylization approaches describe contours holistically and index them for application on the basis of utterance type, usually based on a naïve syntactic typology, e.g., question, declarative, etc.

The holistic representation of contours can perhaps be defended, but the categorizing of types via syntactic description (usually triggered by punctuation) is questionable. Typically, use of punctuation as a rule trigger for pitch effects is making certain hidden assumptions about the relation between punctuation and syntax, and in turn between syntax and prosody. An obvious example is question intonation. If you find a question mark at the end of a sentence, are you justified in applying a final high rise (which might be denoted as H-H% in ToBI)? First, the intonation of yes-no questions in general differs from that of *wh*-questions. *Wh*-questions usually lack the extreme final upturn of F0 heard in some yes-no questions:

- i. *Are you going?*
- ii. *Where are you going?*

However, there are cases where an extreme final upturn is acceptable on ii. As [8] puts it, "It has been emphasized repeatedly ... that no intonation is an infallible clue to any sen-

tence type: any intonation that can occur with a statement, a command, or an exclamation can also occur with a question.”

Admittedly, there is a rough correspondence between syntactic types and speech acts,² as shown in Table 15.4. Nevertheless, the correspondence between syntactic types and acts is not deterministic, and prosody in spontaneous speech is definitely mediated via speech acts (the pragmatic context and use of an utterance) rather than syntactic types. Thus, it is difficult to obtain high-quality simulation of spontaneous speech based on linguistic descriptions that do not include speech acts and pragmatics. Likewise, even simulation of prose reading without due consideration of pragmatics and speech acts, and based solely on syntactic types, is difficult because prose that is read may:

- ☐ Include acted dialog
- ☐ Have limited occurrence of most types other than declarative, lessening variety in practice
- ☐ Include long or complex sentences, blunting ‘stereotypical’ effects based on utterance type
- ☐ Lack text cues as to syntactic type, or analysis grammar may be incomplete

Table 15.4 Relationship between syntactic types and speech acts.

Type	Speech Act	Example
interrogative	Questioning	Is it good?
declarative	Stating	It’s good.
imperative	Commanding	Be good!
exclamatory	Exclaiming	How good it is!

Thus, description of an entire speech event, rather than inferences about text content, is again the ultimate guarantor of quality. This is why the future of automatic prosody lies with *concept-to-speech* systems (see Chapter 17) incorporating explicit pragmatic and semantic context specification to guide message rendition.

For commercial TTS systems that must infer structure from raw text, there are a few characteristic fragmentary pitch patterns that can be taken as tunes and applied to special segments of utterances. These include:

- ☐ Phone numbers—downstepping with pauses
- ☐ List intonation—downstepping with pauses (melons, pears, and eggplants)
- ☐ Tag and quotative tag intonation—low rise on tag (*Never!* he blurted. Come here, Jonathan.)

² For a more in-depth coverage of speech acts, consult Chapter 17.

15.4.6. Prosodic Transcription Systems

ToBI, introduced above, can be used as a notation for transcription of prosodic training data and as a high-level specification for the symbolic phase of prosodic generation. Alternatives to ToBI also exist for these purposes, and some of them are amenable to automated prosody annotation of corpora. Some examples of this type of system are discussed in this section.

PROSPA was developed specially to meet the needs of discourse and conversation analysis, and it has also influenced the Prosody Group in the European ESPRIT 2589 SAM (Multilingual Speech Input/Output Assessment, Methodology and Standardization) project [50]. The system has annotations for general or global trends over long spans shown in Table 15.5, short, accent-lending pitch movements on particular vowels are transcribed in Table 15.6, and the pitch shape after the last accent in a () sequence, or *tail*, is indicated in Table 15.7.

Table 15.5 Annotations for general or global trends over long spans.

()	extent of a sequence of cohesive accents
F	globally falling intonation
R	globally rising intonation
H	level intonation on high tone level
M	level intonation on middle tone level
L	level intonation on low tone level
H/F	falling intonation on a globally high tone level
...	sequence of weakly accented or unaccented syllables

Table 15.6 Annotations for accent-lending pitch movements on particular vowels.

+	Upward pitch movement
-	Downward pitch movement
=	level pitch accent

Table 15.7 Annotations for pitch shape after the last accent in a () sequence, or *tail*.

	falling tails
/	rising tails
-	level tails
/^	combinations of tails (rising-falling here)

INTSINT is a coding system of intonation described in [22]. It provides a formal encoding of the symbolic or phonologically significant events on a pitch curve. Each such target point of the stylized curve is coded by a symbol, either as an absolute tone, scaled glob-

ally with respect to the speaker's pitch range, or as a relative tone, defined locally in conjunction with the neighboring target points. Absolute tones in INSINT are defined according to the speaker's pitch range as shown in Table 15.8: Relative tones are notated in INTSINT with respect to the height of the preceding and following target points.

Table 15.8 The definition of absolute tones in INSINT.

T	top of the speaker's pitch range
M	initial, mid value
B	bottom of the speaker's pitch range

In a transcription, numerical values are retained for all F0 target points. TILT [60] is one of the most interesting models of prosodic annotation. It can represent a curve in both its qualitative (ToBI-like) and quantitative (parametrized) aspects. Generally any 'interesting' movement (potential pitch accent or boundary tone) in a syllable can be described in terms of TILT events, and this allows annotation to be done quickly by humans or machines without specific attention to linguistic/functional considerations, which are paramount for ToBI labeling. The linguistic/functional correlations of TILT events can be linked by subsequent analysis of the pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic properties of utterances.

Table 15.9 The definition of relative tones in INSINT.

H	target higher than both immediate neighbours
L	target lower than both immediate neighbours
S	target not different from preceding target
U	target in a rising sequence
D	target in a falling sequence

The automatic parametrization of a pitch event on a syllable is in terms of:

- ☐ starting f0 value (Hz)
- ☐ duration
- ☐ amplitude of rise (A_{rise} , in Hz)
- ☐ amplitude of fall (A_{fall} , in Hz)
- ☐ starting point, time aligned with the signal and with the vowel onset

The tone shape, mathematically represented by its *tilt*, is a value computed directly from the f0 curve by the following formula:

$$tilt = \frac{|A_{rise}| - |A_{fall}|}{|A_{rise}| + |A_{fall}|} \quad (15.1)$$

Table 15.10 Label scheme for syllables.

sil	Silence
c	Connection
a	Major pitch accent
fb	Falling boundary
rb	Rising boundary
afb	Accent+falling boundary
arb	Accent+rising boundary
m	Minor accent
mfb	Minor accent+falling boundary
mrbs	Minor accent+rising boundary
l	Level accent
lrb	Level accent+rising boundary
lfb	Level accent+falling boundary

A likely syllable for tilt analysis in the contour can be automatically detected based on high energy and relatively extreme F0 values or movements. Human annotators can select syllables for attention and label their qualities according to Table 15.10.

15.5. DURATION ASSIGNMENT

Pitch and duration are not entirely independent, and many of the higher-order semantic factors that determine pitch contours may also influence durational effects. The relation between duration and pitch events is a complex and subtle area, in which only initial exploration has been done [63]. Nonetheless, most systems often treat duration and pitch independently because of practical considerations [61].

Numerous factors, including semantics and pragmatic conditions, might ultimately influence phoneme durations. Some factors that are typically neglected include:

- ☐ The issue of speech rate relative to speaker intent, mood, and emotion.
- ☐ The use of duration and rhythm to possibly signal document structure above the level of phrase or sentence (e.g., paragraph).
- ☐ The lack of a consistent and coherent practical definition of the phone such that boundaries can be clearly located for measurement.

15.5.1. Rule-Based Methods

Klatt [1] identified a number of first-order perceptually significant effects that have largely been verified by subsequent research. These effects are summarized in Table 15.11.

Table 15.11. Perceptually significant effects for duration. After Klatt [1].

Lengthening of the final vowel and following consonants in prepausal syllables.
Shortening of all syllabic segments ³ in nonprepausal position.
Shortening of syllabic segments if not in a word final syllable.
Consonants in non-word-initial position are shortened.
Unstressed and secondary stressed phones are shortened.
Emphasized vowels are lengthened.
Vowels may be shortened or lengthened according to phonetic features of their context.
Consonants may be shortened in clusters.

The rule-based duration-modeling mechanism involves table lookup of minimum and inherent durations for every phone type. The minimum duration is rate dependent, so all phones could be globally scaled in their minimum durations for faster or slower rates. The inherent duration is the raw material for the rules above: it may be stretched or contracted by a prespecified percentage attached to each rule type above applied in sequence, then it is finally added back onto the minimum duration to yield a millisecond time for a given phone. The duration of a phone is expressed as

$$d = d_{min} + r(\bar{d} - d_{min}) \quad (15.2)$$

where d_{min} is the minimum duration of the phoneme, \bar{d} is the average duration of the phoneme, and the correction r is given by

$$r = \prod_{i=1}^N r_i \quad (15.3)$$

for the case of N rules being applied where each rule has a correction r_i . At the very end, a rule may apply that lengthens vowels when they are preceded by voiceless plosives ($/p/$, $/t/$, $/k/$). This is also the basis for the additive-multiplicative duration model [49] that has been widely used in the field.

³ Syllabic segments include vowels and syllabic consonants.

15.5.2. CART-Based Durations

A number of generic machine-learning methods have been applied to the duration assignment problem, including CART and linear regression [43, 62]. The voice datasets generally rely on less than the full set of possible joint duration predictors implied in the rule list of Table 15.11. It has been shown that a model restricted to the following features and contexts can compare favorably, in listeners' perceptions, with durations from natural speech [43]:

- ☐ Phone identity
- ☐ Primary lexical stress (binary feature)
- ☐ Left phone context (1 phone)
- ☐ Right phone context (1 phone)

In addition, a single rule of vowel and post-vocalic consonant lengthening (rule 1 in Table 15.11) is applied in prepausal syllables. The restriction of phone context to immediate left and right neighbors results in a triphone duration model, congruent with the voice triphone model underlying the basic synthesis in the system [23]. In perceptual testing this simple triphone duration model yielded judgments nearly identical to those elicited by utterances with phone durations from natural speech [43]. From this result, you may conjecture that even the simplified list of *first-order* factors above may be excessive, and that only the handful of factors implicit in the triphones themselves, supplemented by a single-phrase final-syllable coda lengthening rule, is required. This would simplify data collection and analysis for system construction.

15.6. PITCH GENERATION

We now describe the issues involved in generating synthetic pitch contours. Pitch, or F0, is probably the most characteristic of all the prosody dimensions. As discussed in Section 15.8, the quality of a prosody module is dominated by the quality of its pitch-generation component.

Since generating pitch contours is an incredibly complicated problem, pitch generation is often divided into two levels, with the first level computing the so-called symbolic prosody described in Section 15.4 and the second level generating pitch contours from this symbolic prosody. This division is somewhat arbitrary since, as we shall see below, a number of important prosodic phenomena do not fall cleanly on one side or the other but seem to involve aspects of both. Often it is useful to add several other attributes of the pitch contour prior to its generation, which are discussed in Section 15.6.1.

15.6.1. Attributes of Pitch Contours

A pitch contour is characterized not only by its symbolic prosody but also by several other attributes such as pitch range, gradient prominence, declination, and microprosody. Some of

these attributes often cross into the realm of symbolic prosody. These attributes are also known in the field as phonetic prosody (termed as an analogy to phonology and phonemics).

15.6.1.1. Pitch Range

Pitch range refers to the high and low limits within which all the accent and boundary tones must be realized: a floor and ceiling, so to speak, which are typically specified in Hz. This may be considered in terms of stable, speaker-specific limits as well as in terms of an utterance or passage. For a TTS system, each voice typically has a characteristic pitch range representing some average of the pitch extremes over test utterances. This speaker-specific range can be set as an initial default for the voice or character. These limits may be changed by an application.

Another sense of pitch range is the actual exploitation of zones within the *hard* limits at any point in time for linguistic purposes, having to do with expression of the content or feeling of the message. Pitch-range variation that is correlated with emotion or other aspects of the speech event is sometimes called *paralinguistic*. This linguistic and paralinguistic use of pitch range includes aspects of both symbolic and phonetic prosody. Since it is quantitative, it certainly is a phonetic property of an utterance's F0 contour. Furthermore, it seems that most linguistic contrasts involving pitch accents, boundary tones, etc. can be realized in any pitch range. These settings can be estimated from natural speech (for research purposes) by calculating F0 mean and variance over an utterance or set of utterances, or by simply adopting the minimum and maximum measurements (perhaps the 5th and 95th percentile to minimize the effect of pitch tracker error).

But, although pitch range is a phonetic property, it can be systematically manipulated to express states of mind and feeling in ways that other strictly phonetic properties, such as characteristic formant values, rarely are. Pitch range interacts with all the prosodic attributes you have examined above, and certain pitch-range settings may be characteristic of particular styles or utterance events. For example, it is noted [8] that: "*we cannot speak of an intonation of exclamation ... Exclamation draws impartially upon the full repertory of up-down patterns. What characterizes the class is not shape but range: exclamations reach for the extreme—usually higher but sometimes lower.*" In this sense, then, pitch range cannot be considered an arbitrary or physiological attribute—it is directly manipulated for communicative purposes.

In prosodic research, distinguishing emotive and iconic use of pitch (analogous to gesture) from strictly linguistic (logical, syntactic, and semantic expression, with arbitrary relation between signifier and signified) prosodic phenomena has been difficult. Pitch-range variation seems to straddle emotional, linguistic, and phonetic expression.

A linguistic pitch range may be narrowed or widened, and the zone of current pitch variation may be placed anywhere within a speaker's wider, physically determined range. So, for example, a male speaker might adopt a falsetto speaking style for some purpose, with his pitch range actually narrowed, but with all pitch variation realized in a high portion of his overall range, close to his physical limits.

Pitch range is a gradient property, without categorical bounds. It seems to trade off with other model components: accent, relative prominence, downstep, and declination. For

example, if our model of prosody incorporates, say, an accent-strength component, but if we also recognize that pitch range can be manipulated for linguistic purposes, we may have difficulty determining, in analysis, whether a given accent is at partial strength in a wide range or at full strength in a reset, narrower range. This analytic uncertainty may be reflected in the quality of models based on the analysis.

A practical TTS system has to stay within, and make some attempt to maximize the exploitation of, the current system default or user-specified range. Thus, for general TTS purposes, the simplest approach is to use about 90% of the user-set or system default range for general prose reading, most of the time, and use the reserved 10% in special situations, such as the paragraph initial *resets*, exclamations, and emphasized words and phrases.

15.6.1.2. Gradient Prominence

Gradient prominence refers to the relative strength of a given accent position with respect to its neighbors and the current pitch-range setting. The simplest approach, where every accented syllable is realized as a H(igh) tone, at uniform strength, within an invariant range, can sound unnatural. At first glance, the prominence property of accents might appear to be a phonetic detail, in that it is quantitative, and certainly any single symbolic tonal transcription can be realized in a wide variety of relative per-accent prominence settings. However, the relative height of accents can fundamentally alter the information content of a spoken message by determining focus, contrast, and emphasis. You would hope that such linguistic content would be determined by the presence and absence, or perhaps the types (H, L, etc.), of the symbolic accents themselves. But an accented syllable at a low prominence might be perceived as unaccented in some contexts, and there is no guaranteed minimum degree of prominence for accent perception. Furthermore, as noted above, the realization of prominence of an accent is context-sensitive, depending on the current pitch-range setting.

The key knowledge deficit here is a theory of the interpretation of prominence that would allow designers to make sensible decisions. It appears that relative prominence is related to the information status of accent-bearing words and is in that sense linguistic, yet there is no theory of prominence categories that would license any abstraction. For the present, many commercial TTS systems adopt a pseudorandom pattern of alternating stronger/weaker prominence, simply to avoid monotony. If a word is tagged for emphasis, or if its information status can otherwise be inferred, its prominence can be heightened within the local range.

In the absence of information on the relative semantic salience of accented words in the utterance, successive prominence levels are varied in some simple alternating pattern, to avoid monotony. Rather than limiting the system to a single peak F0 value per accented syllable, several points could be specified, which, when connected by interpolation and smoothing, could give varied effects within the syllable, such as rising, falling, and scooped accents.

15.6.1.3. Declination

Related to both pitch range and gradient prominence is the long-term downward trend of accent heights across a typical reading-style, semantically neutral, declarative sentence. This is called *declination*. Although this tendency, if overdone, can simply give the effect of a bored or uncomprehending reader, it is a favorite prosodic effect for TTS systems, because it is simple to implement and licenses some pitch change across a single sentence. If a system uses a ‘top line’ as a reference for calculating the height of every accent, the slope of that top line can simply be declined across the utterance. Otherwise, each accent’s prominence can be realized as a certain percentage of the height of the preceding one. Declination can be reset at utterance boundaries, or within an utterance at the boundaries of certain linguistic structures, such as the beginning of quoted speech. Intrasentence phrase and clause types that typically narrow the pitch range, such as parentheticals and certain relative clauses, can be modeled by suspending the declination, or adopting a new declination line for the temporary narrowed range, then resuming the suspended longer-term trend as the utterance progresses. Needless to say, declination is not a prominent feature of spontaneous speech and in any case should not be overdone.

The minor effect of declination should not be confused with the tendency in all kinds of nonquestioning utterances to end with a very low pitch, close to the bottom of the speaker’s range. In prosodic research this is called *final lowering* and is well-attested as a phenomenon that is independent of declination [29]. The ToBI notation used to specify final lowering is the complex boundary tone L-L%. In Figure 15.6 we show the declination line together with the other two *downers of intonation*: downstep and final lowering described in Section 15.4.4.

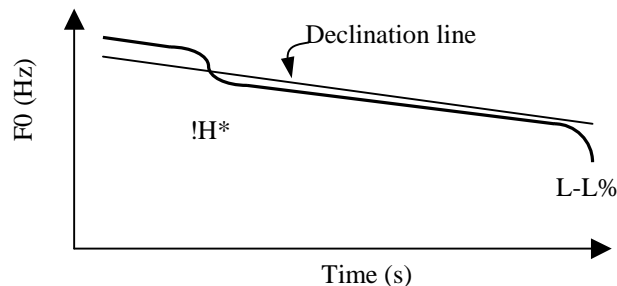


Figure 15.6 The three downers of intonation: the declination line, a downstep (!H*), and the final lowering (L-L%).

15.6.1.4. Phonetic F0—Microprosody

Microprosody refers to those aspects of the pitch contour that are unambiguously phonetic and that often involve some interaction with the speech carrier phones. These may be re-

garded as *second-order* effects, in the sense that rendering them well cannot compensate for incorrect accentuation or other mistakes at the symbolic level. Conversely, making no attempt to model these but putting a great deal of care into the semantic basis for determining accentuation, contrast, focus, emphasis, phrasing, etc. can result in a system of reasonable quality. Nevertheless, all else being equal, it is advisable to make some attempt to capture the local phonetic properties of natural pitch contours.

If the strength of accents is controlled semantically, by having equal degrees of focus on words of differing phonetic makeup, it has been observed that high vowels described in Chapter 2 carrying H* accents are uniformly higher in the phonetic pitch range than low vowels with the same kinds of accent. The distinction between high and low vowels correlates with the position of the tongue in articulation (high or low in the mouth). The highest English vowels by this metric are /iy/ (as in *bee*) and /uw/ (as in *too*), while the lowest vowel is /aa/ as in *father*. The predictability of F0 under these conditions may relate to the degree of tension placed on the laryngeal mechanisms by the raised tongue position in the high vowels as opposed to the low. In any case, this effect, while probably perceptually important in natural speech, is challenging for a synthesizer. The reason relates again to the issue of gradient prominence, discussed above. Apart from experimental prompts in the lab, there is currently no principled way to assign prominence for accent height realization based on utterance content in general TTS. It may therefore be difficult for a listener to correctly factor pitch accent height that is due to correctly (or incorrectly) assigned gradient prominence from height variation related to the lower-level phonetic effects of vowel height.

Another phonetic effect is the level F0 in the early portion of a vowel that follows a voiced obstruent such as /b/, contrasted with the typical fall in F0 following a voiceless obstruent such as /p/. This phonetic conditioning effect, of both preceding and following consonants, can be observed most clearly when identical underlying accent types are assigned to the carrier vowel, and may persist as long as 50 ms or more into the vowel. The exact contribution of the pre-vocalic consonant, the postvocalic consonant, and the underlying accent type are difficult to untangle, though [54] is a good survey of all research in this area and adds new experimental results. For commercial synthesizers, this is definitely a second-order effect and is probably more important for rule-based formant synthesizers (see Chapter 16), which need to use every possible cue to enforce distinctions among consonants in phoneme perception, than for strictly intonational synthesis. However, in order to achieve completely natural prosody in the future, this area will have to be addressed.

Last, and perhaps least, *jitter* is a variation of individual cycle lengths in pitch-period measurement, and *shimmer* is variation in energy values of the individual cycles. These are distinct concepts, though somewhat correlated. Obviously, this is an influence of glottal pulse shape and strength on the quality of vowels. Speech with jitter and shimmer over 15% sounds pathological, but complete regularity in the glottal pulse may sound unnatural. For a deeper understanding of how these could be controlled, see Chapter 16.

15.6.2. Baseline F0 Contour Generation

We now examine a simple system that generates F0 contours. Although each stage of an F0 contour algorithm ideally requires a complete natural language and semantic analysis sys-

tem, in practice a number of rules are often used. The system described here illustrates most of the important features common to the pitch-generation systems of commercial synthesizers.

First, let's consider a natural speech sample and describe what initial information is needed to characterize it, and how an artificial pitch contour can be synthesized based on the input analysis. The chosen sample is the utterance "*Don't hit it to Joey!*", an exclamation, from the ToBI Labeling Guidelines sample utterance set [4]. The natural waveform, aligned pitch contour, and abstract ToBI labels are shown in Figure 15.7. This utterance is about 1.63 seconds and it has three major ToBI pitch events:

H*	high pitch accent on <i>Don't</i>
L*+!H	low pitch accent with following downstepped high on <i>Joey</i>
L-L%	low utterance-final boundary tone at the very end of utterance

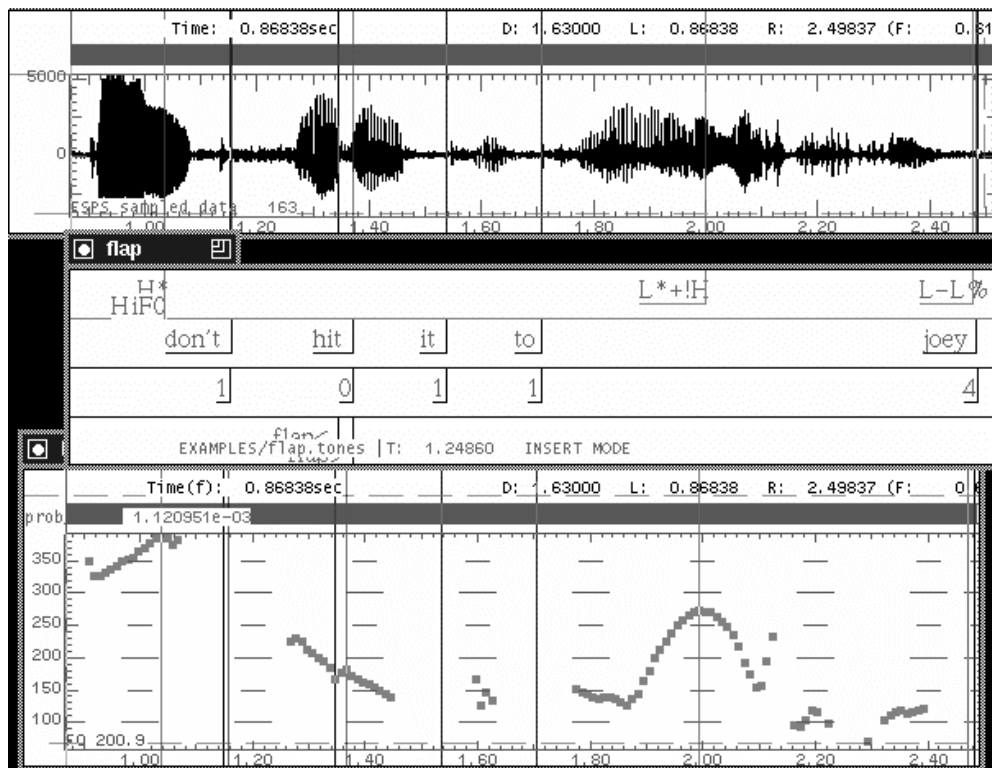


Figure 15.7 Time waveform, segmentation, TOBI marks, and pitch contour for the utterance "*Don't hit it to Joey!*" spoken by a female speaker (after Beckman [4]).

The input to the F0 contour generator includes:

- ☐ Word segmentation.
- ☐ Phone labels within words.
- ☐ Durations for phones, in milliseconds.
- ☐ Utterance type and/or punctuation information.
- ☐ Relative salience of words as determined by grammatical/semantic analysis.
- ☐ Current pitch-range settings for voice.

15.6.2.1. Accent Determination

Although accent determination ideally requires a complete natural language and semantic analysis system (see Section 15.4.3), in practice a number of rules are often used. The first rule is: *Content word categories of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb are to be accented, while the function word categories (everything else, such as pronoun, preposition, conjunction, etc.) are to be left unaccented.* Rules can be used to tune this by specifying which POS is accented or not and in which context.

If we apply that simple metric to the natural sample of Figure 15.7, we see that it does not account for the accentuation of ‘hit’, which, as a verb, should have been accented. In a real system perhaps we would have accented it, and this might have resulted in the typical overaccented quality of synthetic prosody. For this sample discussion, let’s adopt a simplified version of a rule found in some commercial synthesizers: *Monosyllabic common verbs are left unaccented.*

What about “Don’t”? A simplistic view would state that the POS-based policy has done the right thing, after all “Don’t” can be regarded as a verbal form. However, usually *do* is considered an auxiliary verb and is not accented. For now we adopt another rule that says: *In a negative imperative exclamation, determined by presence of a second-person negative auxiliary form and a terminal exclamation point, the negative term gets accented.* The adoption of these corollaries to the simple POS-based accentuation rule accounts for our accent placement in the present example, but of course it sometimes fails, as does any rigid policy. So our utterance would now appear (with words selected for accent in upper case) as “DON’T hit it to JOEY!”

15.6.2.2. Tone Determination

In the limit, tone determination (see Section 15.4.4) also requires a complete natural language and semantic analysis system, but in practice a number of rules are often used. Generally, in working systems, H* is used for all pitch accent tones, and this is actually very realistic, as H* is the most frequent tone in natural speech.

Sometimes complex tones of the type L*+!H are thrown in for a kind of pseudovariety in TTS. In our sample natural utterance this is the tone that is used, so here we assume that this is the accent type assigned.

We also need to mark punctuation-adjacent and utterance-final phonemes as rise, continue, or fall boundaries. In this case we mark it as L-L%.

15.6.2.3. Pitch Range

To determine the pitch range, we are going to make use of three lines as a frame within which all pitches are calculated. The top line and bottom line would presumably be derived from the current or default pitch-range settings as controlled by an application or user. Here we set them in accord with the limits of our natural sample. Note that while, for this example, the pitch contour is generated within an actual pitch range, it could also be done within an abstract range of, say, 1–100, which the voice-generation module could map to the current actual setting. So we set the top line at $T = 375$ Hz and the base line at $B = 100$ Hz.

It is more advantageous to work in a logarithmic scale, because it is more easily ported from males to females, and because this better represents human prosody. There are 24 semitones in an octave; thus a semitone corresponds to a ratio of $a = 2^{1/24}$. The pitch range can be expressed in semitones as

$$n = 24 \log_2 (T / B) \approx 80 \log_{10} (T / B) \quad (15.4)$$

so that we can express frequencies in semitones as

$$f_0 = 80 \log_{10} F_0 \quad (15.5)$$

and its inverse

$$F_0 = 10^{f_0 / 80} \quad (15.6)$$

Using Eq. (15.5), the top line is $t = 206$ and the base line is $b = 160$. The reference line is a kind of midline for the range, used in the accent scaling calculations, and is set halfway between the bottom and top lines, i.e., $r = 183$, and using Eq. (15.6), $R = 194$ Hz.

15.6.2.4. Prominence Determination

The relative prominence of the words (see Section 15.6.1.2) allows the pitch module to scale the pitch within any given pitch range. Here we assume (arbitrarily) that $N = 5$ degrees of abstract relative prominence are sufficient. This means that, e.g., an H* pitch accent with prominence 5 will be at or near the very top of the current pitch-range setting, while an L* with the same prominence will be at or near the very bottom of the range. Smaller prominence numbers indicate less salience, placing their pitch events closer to the middle of the range.

Converting the abstract tone types plus prominence into pitch numbers is more art than science (but see Section 15.6.4 for a discussion of data-based methods for this process). Here we assume a simple linear relationship between the tone's type and relative prominence:

$$f_0[i] = r + (t - r) * p[i] / N \quad (15.7)$$

In the limit, prominence determination also requires a complete natural language and semantic analysis system, but in practice a number of heuristics are often used. One such

heuristic is: *In a negative imperative exclamation, the negative term gets the most emphasis*, leading to a relative prominence assignment of 5 on ‘don’t.’ Using Eqs. (15.7) and (15.6), the anchor equals the top range of 375 Hz.

Then, since the $L^*+!H$ involves a *downstepped* term, it must by definition be lower than the preceding H^* accent, so we arbitrarily assign it a relative prominence of ‘2’. The $L^*+!H$ is more complex, requiring calculation and placement of two separate anchor points. For simplicity we are using a single prominence value for complex tones like $L^*+!H$, but we could also use a value-per-tone approach, at the cost of greater analytical complexity. Using Eq. (15.7), it corresponds to 192 semitones, and with Eq. (15.6), the value of $!H$ is 251 Hz. For L^* , we use a prominence of -2 (we use negative values for L tones), which, using Eq. (15.7), results in an anchor of 174, or alternatively 149 Hz.

The $L-L\%$ tone is a boundary tone, so it always goes on the final frame of a syllable-final (in this case, utterance-final) phone. The $L-L\%$ in most ToBI systems is not treated as a two-part complex tone but rather as a *super low* $L\%$ boundary, falling at the very bottom of the speaker’s pitch range, i.e., prominence of 5, for a few frames. Thus the F_0 value of these anchor point is 100 Hz.

We also need to set anchors for the initial point. The initial anchor is usually set at some arbitrary but high place within the speaker’s range (perhaps a rule looking at utterance type can be used). A prominence of 4 can be used, yielding a value of 329 Hz.

Finally we need to determine where to place the anchors within the accented syllable. Often they are placed in the middle of the vowel. All the anchor points are shown in Figure 15.8.

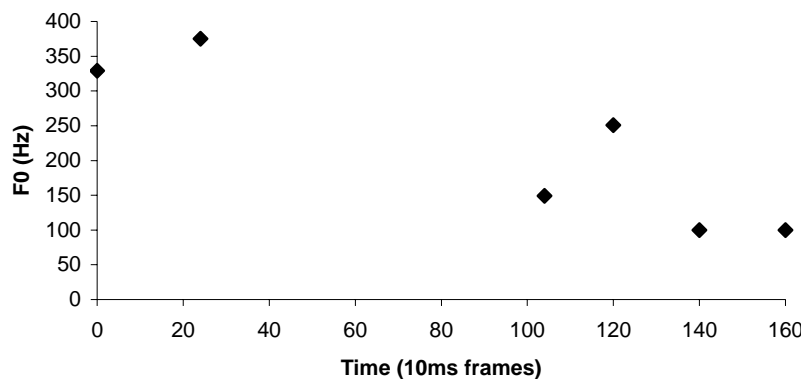


Figure 15.8 Anchor points of the F_0 contour.

15.6.2.5. F_0 Contour Interpolation

To obtain the full F_0 contour we need some kind of interpolation. One way is to interpolate linearly and follow with a multipoint moving-average window over the resulting (angular) contour to smooth it out. Another possibility is a higher-order interpolation polynomial. In

this case a cubic interpolation routine is called, which has the advantage of retaining the exact anchor points in a smoothed final contour (as opposed to moving average, which smears the anchor points). In general the choice of interpolation algorithm makes little perceptual difference, as long as no sharp ‘corners’ remain in the contour. In Figure 15.9 the contour was interpolated fully, without regard to voicing properties of underlying phones. In the graph, the sections corresponding to unvoiced phones have been replaced with zero, for ease of comparison to the sample in Figure 15.7. The interpolation can be done in the linear frequency, as in Figure 15.9, or in the log-frequency.

In order for the interpolation algorithm to operate properly we need to have phone durations so that the anchor points are appropriately spaced apart. In this baseline algorithm, we followed the algorithm described in Section 15.5.2.

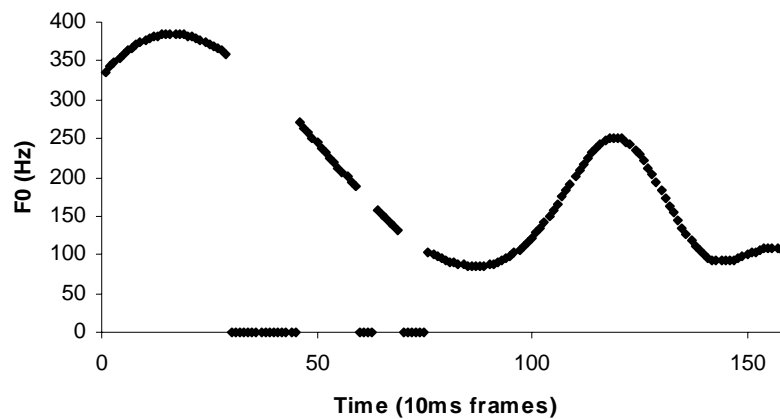


Figure 15.9 F0 contour of Figure 15.8 after cubic interpolation. Sections corresponding to unvoiced phones have been replaced with zero.

15.6.2.6. Interface to Synthesis Module

Finally, most synthesizers cannot accept an arbitrary number of pitch controls on a given phoneme, nor is this necessary. We can downsample the pitch buffer to allocate a few characteristic points per phoneme record, and, if the synthesizer can interpolate pitch, it may be desirable to skip pitch controls for unvoiced phones altogether. The F0 targets can be placed at default locations (such as the left edge and middle of each phone), or the placements can be indicated by percent values on each target, depending on what the synthesizer supports. This has to be in agreement with the specific interface between the prosody module and the synthesis module as described in Section 15.2.

15.6.2.7. Evaluation and Possible Improvements

In comparing the output contour of Figure 15.9 to the natural one of Figure 15.7, how well have we done? As a first-order approximation, from visual inspection, it is somewhat similar to the original. Of course, we have used hand-coded information for the accent property, accent type, and prominence! However, these choices were reasonable, and could apply them as defaults to many other utterances. At a minimum, almost exactly the code given above would apply without change and give a decent contour for a whole ‘family’ of similar utterances, such as “*Don’t hit the ball to Joey!*” or “*Never give the baseball to Henry!*” A higher-order discourse module would need to determine that *ball* and *baseball* are not accented, however, in order to use the given contour with the same rhetorical effect (presumably *ball* and *baseball* in these cases could be given/understood information).

Something very much like the system described here has been used in most commercially marketed synthesizers throughout the 1990s. This model seems overly simple, even crude, and presumably it could be substantially augmented, or completely replaced by something more sophisticated.

However, many weaknesses are apparent also. For one thing, the contour appears very smooth. The slight *jitter* of real contours can be easily simulated at a final stage of pitch buffer processing by modifying ± 3 or 4 Hz to the final value of each frame. The degree to which such niceties actually affect listener perceptions depend entirely on the quality of the synthetic speech and the quality of the pitch-modification algorithms in the synthesizer.

The details of peak placement obviously differ between the natural and synthetic contours. This is partly due to the crude uniform durations used, but in practice synthesizers incorporate large batteries of rules to decide exactly (for example) which frame of a phone the H* definition point should appear in—early, middle, late? Sometimes this decision is based on surrounding phonetic structure, word and syllable structure, and prosodic context. The degree to which this matters in perception depends partly on synthetic speech quality overall.

15.6.3. Parametric F0 Generation

To realize all the prosodic effects discussed above, some systems make almost direct use of a real speaker’s measured data, via table lookup methods. Other systems use data indirectly, via parametrized algorithms with generic structure. The simplest systems use an invariant algorithm that has no particular connection to any single speaker’s data, such as the algorithm described in the baseline F0 generation system of Section 15.6.2. Each of these approaches has advantages and disadvantages, and none of them has resulted in a system that fully mimics human prosodic performance to the satisfaction of all listeners. As in other areas of TTS, researchers have not converged on any single standard family of approaches. Once we venture beyond the simplest approaches, we find an interesting variety of systems, based on different assumptions, with differing characteristics. We now discuss a few of the more representative approaches.

Even models that make little or no attempt to analyze the internal components of an F0 contour must be indexed somehow. System designers should choose indexing or predictive factors that are derivable from text analysis, are general enough to cover most prosodic situations, and are powerful enough to specify high-quality prosody. In practice, most models' predictive factors have a rough correspondence to, or are an elaboration of, the elements of the baseline algorithm of Section 15.6.2. A typical list might include the following:

- ☐ Word structure (stress, phones, syllabification)
- ☐ Word class and/or POS
- ☐ Punctuation and prosodic phrasing
- ☐ Local syntactic structure
- ☐ Clause and sentence *type* (declarative, question, exclamation, quote, etc.)
- ☐ Externally specified focus and emphasis
- ☐ Externally specified speech style, pragmatic style, emotional tone, and speech act goals

These factors jointly determine an output contour's characteristics, as listed below. Ideally, any or all of these may be externally and directly specified, or they may be inferred or implied within the F0 generation model itself:

- ☐ Pitch-range setting
- ☐ Gradient, relative prominence on each syllable
- ☐ Global declination trend, if any
- ☐ Local shape of F0 movement
- ☐ Timing of F0 events relative to phone (carrier) structure

The combinatorial complexity of these predictive factors, and the size of the resulting models, can be serious issues for practical systems that strive for high coverage of prosodic variability and high-quality output. The possibility of using *externally specified* symbolic markups gives the whole system a degree of modularity, in that prosodic annotation can be specified directly by an authoritative outside source or can be derived automatically by the symbolic prosody prediction process that precedes F0 contour generation.

Parametric models propose an underlying architecture of prosodic production or perception that constrains the set of possible outputs to conform to universal constants of the human speech mechanism. Naturally, these models need settings to distinguish different speakers, different styles, and the specifics of utterances. We describe superposition models and ToBI Realization models.

15.6.3.1. Superposition Models

An influential class of parametric models was initiated by the work [35] for Swedish, which proposed additive superposition of component contours to synthesize a complex final F0 track. In the version refined and elaborated in [14], the component contours, which may

all have different strengths and decay characteristics, may correspond to longer-term trends, such as phrase or utterance declination, as well as shorter-time events, such as pitch accents on words. The component contours are modeled as the critically damped responses of second-order systems to impulse functions for the longer-term, slowly decaying phrasal trends, and step or rectangular functions of shorter-term accent events. The components so generated are added and ride a baseline that is speaker specific. The basic ingredients of the system, known as Fujisaki's model [15, 19], are shown in Figure 15.10. The resulting contour is shown in Figure 15.11. Obviously, similar effects can be generated with linear accent shapes as described in the simpler model above, with smoothing. However, there are some plausible claims for the articulatory correlates of the constraints imposed in the second-order damping and superposition effects of this model [33].

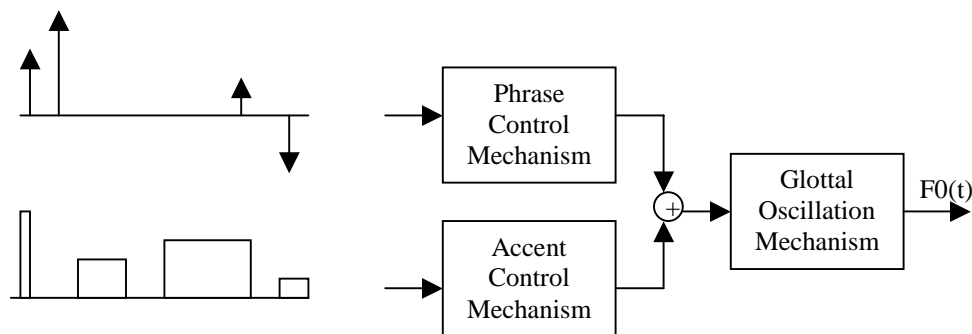


Figure 15.10 Fujisaki pitch model [15]. F_0 is a superposition of phrase effects with accent effects. The phrase mechanism controls things like the declination of a declarative sentence or a question, whereas the accent mechanism accounts for accents in individual syllables.

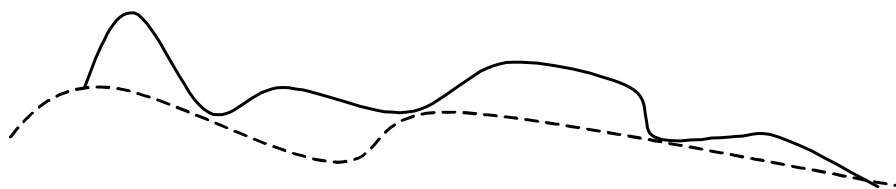


Figure 15.11 Composite contour obtained by low-pass filtering the impulses and boxes in the Fujisaki model of Figure 15.10.

Superposition models of this type can, if supplied with accurate parameters in the form of time alignments and strengths of the impulses and steps, generate contours closely mimicking natural examples. In this respect, the remaining quality gap for general application is in the parametric knowledge driving the model, not in the model structure per se. These kinds of models have been particularly successful in replicating the relatively constrained Japanese reading-style. Whether these models can account straightforwardly for the immense variety of a large range of English speakers and text genre, or whether, on the con-

trary, the parameters proliferate and the settings become increasingly arbitrary, remains to be seen.

15.6.3.2. ToBI Realization Models

One simple parametric model, which in its inherent structure makes only modest claims for principled correspondence to perceptual or articulatory reality, is designed to support prosodic symbols such as the *Tones and Break Indices* (ToBI) system. This model, variants of which are developed in [2, 54], posits two or three control lines, by reference to which ToBI-like prosody symbols can be scaled. This provides for some independence between symbolic and phonetic prosodic subsystems. In the model shown in Figure 15.12, the top line is an upper limit of the pitch range. It can be slanted down to simulate declination. The bottom line represents the bottom of the speaker's range. Pitch accents and boundary tones (as in ToBI) are scaled from a reference line, which is often midway in the range in a logarithmic scale of the pitch range, as described in the baseline algorithm of 15.6. You can think of this scaling as operating within a percentage of the current range, rather than absolute values, so a generic method can be applied to any arbitrary pitch-range setting. The quantitative instantiation of accent height is done at the final stage. The accents and boundary tones consist of one or more points, which can be aligned with the carrier phones; then interpolation is applied between points, and smoothing is performed over the resulting contour.

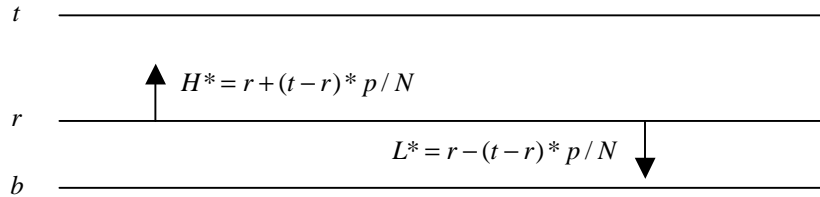


Figure 15.12 A typical model of tone scaling with an abstract pitch range.

In Figure 15.12 above, t , r , and b are the top, reference, and baseline pitch values, respectively. They are set from the defaults of the voice character and by user choice. The base b is considered a physiological constraint of voice. P is the prominence of the accent and N is the number of prominence steps. Declination can be modeled by slanting the top and/or reference lines down. The lowered position of the reference in Figure 15.12 reflects the observation that the realization of H(igh) and L(ow) ToBI abstract tones in a given pitch range is asymmetric, with a greater portion available for H, while L saturates more quickly. This is why placing the reference line midway between the top and base lines in a log-frequency scale automatically takes care of this phenomenon. After target points are located and scaled according to their gradient prominence specifications, the (hopefully sparse) targets can be interpolated and the resulting contour smoothed. If the contour is calculated in, say, 10-ms frames, two pitch targets sampled from the contour vector per phone usually suffice to reproduce the intended prosodic effects faithfully.

If a database of recorded utterances with phone labeling and F0 measurements has been reliably labeled with ToBI pitch annotations, it may be possible to automate the implementation of the ToBI-style parametrized model. This was attempted with some success in [5], where linear regression was used to predict syllable initial, vowel medial, and syllable final F0 based on simple, accurately measurable factors such as:

- ☐ ToBI accent type of target and neighbor syllables
- ☐ ToBI boundary pitch type of target and neighbor syllables
- ☐ Break index on target and neighbor syllables
- ☐ Lexical stress of target and neighbor syllables
- ☐ Number of syllables in phrase
- ☐ Target syllable position phrase
- ☐ Number and location of stressed syllable(s)
- ☐ Number and location of accented syllable(s)

Models of this sort do not incorporate an explicit mechanism (like the scaling direction from r in Figure 15.12) to distinguish H(igh) from L(ow) tone space, beyond what the data and its annotations imply.

The work in [47] consists of a ToBI realization model in which the ‘smoothing’ mechanism is built-in as a dynamical system whose parameters are also learnt from data. This work could be viewed as a stochastic realization of Fujisaki’s superposition model without the phrase controls and where the accents are given by ToBI labels.

Both the ToBI realization models and the superposition models could, if supplied with sufficiently accurate measurements of an example contour, reproduce it fairly accurately. Both models require much detailed knowledge (global and local pitch range; location, type, and relative strength of accents and boundary tones; degree of declination; etc.) to function at human-level quality for a given utterance. If a system designer is in possession of a completely annotated, high-quality database of fully representative prosodic forms for his/her needs, the question of deployment of the database in a model can be made based on performance tradeoffs, maintenance issues, and other engineering considerations. If, on the other hand, no such database is available for the given application purpose, extremely high prosodic quality, including lively yet principled variation, should not be expected to result simply from choosing the ‘mathematically correct’ model type.

15.6.4. Corpus-Based F0 Generation

It is possible to have F0 parameters trained from a corpus of natural recordings. The simplest models are the direct models, where an exact match is required. Models that offer more generalization have a library of F0 contours that are indexed either from features from the parse tree or from ToBI labels. Finally, there are F0 generation models from a statistical network such as a neural network or an HMM. In all cases, once the model is set, the parameters are learned automatically from data.

15.6.4.1. Direct Models

The most direct approach of all is to store a single contour from a real speaker's utterance corresponding to every possible input utterance that one's TTS system will ever face. This seems to limit the ability to freely synthesize any input text. However, this approach can be viable under certain special conditions and limitations. These controls are so detailed that they are tedious to write manually. Fortunately, they can be generated automatically by speech recognition algorithms.

When these controls (transplanted prosody), taken from an authentic digitized utterance, are applied to synthetic voice units, the results can be very convincing, sometimes nearly as good as the original digitized samples [43]. A system with this capability can mix predefined utterances having natural-quality prosody, such as greetings, with flexible synthesis capabilities for system response, using a consistent synthetic voice. The transplanted prosody for the *frozen* phrases can be derived either from the original voice data donor used to create the synthetic voice model, or any other speaker, with global adjustment for pitch-range differences. Another use of the transplanted prosody capability is to compress a spoken message into ASCII (phone labels plus the prosodic controls) for playback, preserving much of the quality, if not the full individuality, of the original speaker's recording.

15.6.4.2. F0 Contours Indexed by Parsed Text

In a more generalized variant of the direct approach, one could imagine collecting and indexing a gigantic database of clauses, phrases, words, or syllables, and then annotating all units with their salient prosodic features. If the terms of annotation (word structure, POS, syntactic context, etc.) can be applied to new utterances at runtime, a prosodic description for the closest matching database unit can be recovered and applied to the input utterance [23]. The advantages here are that prosodic quality can be made arbitrarily high, by collecting enough exemplars to cover arbitrarily large quantities of input text, and that detailed analysis of the deeper properties of the prosodic phenomena can be sidestepped. The potential disadvantages are:

- ☐ Data-collection time is long (which affects the capability to create new voices).
- ☐ A large amount of runtime storage is required (presumably less important as technology progresses).
- ☐ Database annotation may have to be manual, or if automated, may be of poor quality.
- ☐ The model cannot be easily modified/extended, owing to lack of fundamental understanding.
- ☐ Coverage can never be complete, therefore rulelike generalization, fuzzy match capability, or back-off, is needed.
- ☐ Consistency control for the prosodic attributes (to prevent unit boundary mismatches) can be difficult.

The first two disadvantages are self-explanatory. The difficulty of annotating the database, to form the basis of the indexing and retrieval scheme, depends on the type and depth of the indexing parameters chosen. Any such scheme requires annotations to identify the component phones of each unit (syllable, word, or phrase) and their durations. This can usually be obtained from speech recognition tools [23], which may be independently required to create a synthetic voice (see Chapter 16). Lexical or word stress attributes can be extracted from an online dictionary or NLP system, though, as we have seen above, lexical stress is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for predicting pitch accent placement.

If only a very high level of description is sought, based primarily on the pragmatics of utterance use and some syntactic typology, it may not be necessary to recover a detailed symbolic pitch analysis. An input text can be described in high-level pragmatic/semantic terms, and pitch from the nearest matching word or phrase from the database can be applied with the expectation that its contour is likely correct. For example, such a system might have multiple prosodic versions of a word that can be used in different pragmatic senses, such as *ok*, which could be a question, a statement, an exclamation, a signal of hesitation or uncertainty, etc. The correct version must be selected based on the runtime requirements of the application.

Direct prosody schemes of this type often preserve the original phone carrier material of each instance in order to assure optimal match between prosody and spectrum. However, with DSP techniques enabling arbitrary modifications of waveforms (see Chapter 16), this is not strictly necessary; the prosodic annotations could stand alone, with phone label annotation only. If more detailed prosodic control is required, such as being aware of the type of accent, its pitch range, prominence, and other features, the annotation task is much more difficult.

A straightforward and elegant formulation of the lookup-table direct model approach can be found in [30]. This system, created for Spanish but generally adaptable, is based on a large single-speaker recorded database of a variety of sentence types. The sentences are linguistically analyzed, and prosodic structure is hypothesized based on syllables, accent groups (groups of syllables with one lexical stress), breath groups (groups of accent-groups between pauses regardless of the duration of the pause), and sentences. Note that these structures are hypothesized based on the textual material alone, and the speaker will not always perform accordingly. Pitch (initial, mid, and final F0) and duration data for each spoken syllable is automatically measured and stored. At runtime, the input sentence is analyzed using the same set of structural attributes inferred from the text, and a vector of candidate syllables from the database is constructed with identical, or similar, structural context and attributes for each successive input syllable position.

The best path through the set of such candidates is selected by minimizing the F0 distance and disjuncture across the utterance. This is a clean and simple approach to jointly utilizing both shallow linguistic features and genuine phonetic data (duration and F0), with dynamic programming to smooth and integrate the output F0 contour. However, as with any direct modeling approach, it lacks significant generalization capabilities outside the textual material and speaking style specified during the data collection phase, so a number of separate models may have to be constructed.

The CHATR system of ATR (Japan) [9] takes a similar approach, in that optimal prosody is selected from prerecorded units, rather than synthesized from a more general model. The CHATR system consists of a large database of digitized speech, indexed by the speaker identity, the phoneme sequences of the words, and some pragmatic and semantic attributes. Selection of phonemes proceeds by choosing the minimal-cost path from among the similarly indexed database candidate units available for each phoneme or longer segment of speech to be synthesized. This system achieves high quality by allowing the carrier phones to bear only their original prosody—pitch modification of the contour is minimized or eliminated. Of course, the restriction of DSP modification implies a limitation of the generalizability of the database. This type of approach obtains the prosody implicitly from the database [31], and as such combines both the prosody and speech synthesis modules. This type of minimal-cost search is described in more detail in Chapter 16.

15.6.4.3. F0 Contours Indexed by ToBI

The architecture for a simple and straightforward direct model indexed by ToBI is diagrammed in Figure 15.13.

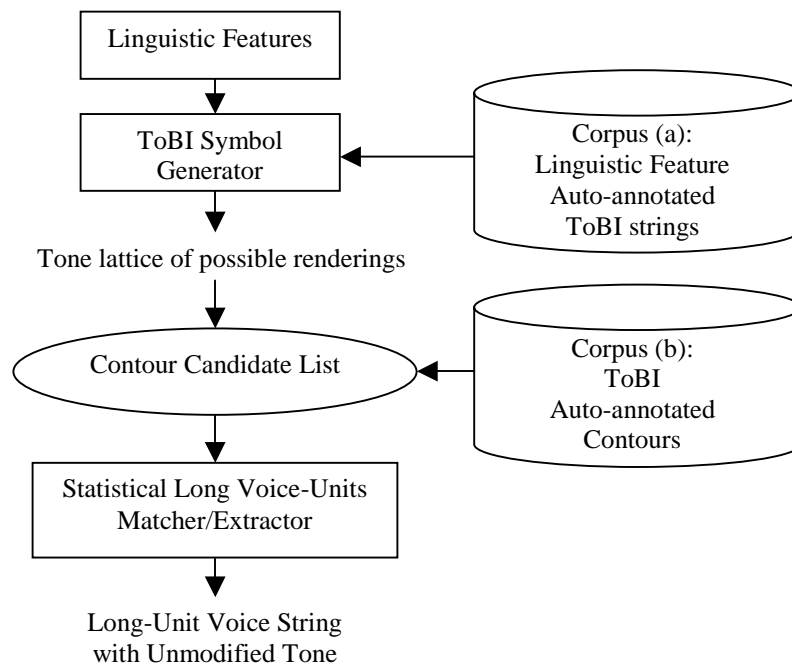


Figure 15.13 A corpus-based prosodic generation model.

This model combines the two often-conflicting goals: it is empirically (corpus) based, but it permits specification in terms of principled abstract prosodic categories. In this model,

an utterance to be synthesized is annotated in terms of its linguistic features—perhaps POS, syntactic structure, word emphasis (based on information structure), etc. The utterance so characterized is matched against a corpus of actual utterances that are annotated with linguistic features and ToBI symbols, Corpus (a). A *fuzzy* matching capability based on edit distance or dynamic programming can be incorporated. If Corpus (a) is sufficiently large and varied, a number of possible ToBI renderings of either the entire utterance or selected parts of it may be recovered. At this level of abstraction, the ToBI labels would not encode relative prominence specifications (strength of pitch extrusions) or pitch range. The set of such abstractly described contours can then be fuzzy matched into Corpus (b), a set of ToBI annotated actual contours, and the best set of matches recovered.

Note that while it is possible that Corpus (a) is the exact same base material as Corpus (b), the model does not enforce an identity, and there may be reasons to desire such flexibility and modularity, depending on the degree and quality of data and annotation at each level. Once a number of likely actual contours have been identified, they can be passed to a voice-unit selection module. The module can select that combination of segmental strings (sometimes called ‘long units,’ since they may combine more than one phoneme) from the voice database whose original prosody is closest to one of the candidate contours, using root-mean-square-error, correlation, or other statistical tests. Those units are then concatenated (with their prosody unmodified) and sent to the application or played out.

A model of this type has some of the disadvantages of direct models as listed above. It also assumes availability of large and varied databases of both prosodic contours and segmental (phone) long units for concatenation (see Chapter 16). It further requires that these databases be annotated, either by human labelers or automated systems. However, it has certain advantages as well:

- ☐ It allows for symbolic, phonological coding of prosody.
- ☐ It has high-quality natural contours.
- ☐ It has high-quality phonetic units, with unmodified pitch.
- ☐ Its modular architecture can work with user-supplied prosodic symbols.

It also allows the immediate, temporary use of data that is collected for deeper analysis, in the hope of eventual construction of smaller, parametrized models. The model of Figure 15.13 is a generalization of the prosody system described in [23].

15.7. PROSODY MARKUP LANGUAGES

Chapter 14 discussed generalized document markup schemes for text analysis. Most TTS engines provide simple text tags and application programming interface controls that allow at least rudimentary hints to be passed along from an application to a TTS engine. We expect to see more sophisticated speech-specific annotation systems, which eventually incorporate current research on the use of semantically structured inputs to synthesizers, sometimes called concept-to-speech systems. A standard set of prosodic annotation tags would likely include tags for insertion of silence pause, emotion, pitch baseline and range, speed in

words-per-minute, and volume. This would be in addition to general tags for specifying the language of origin if not predictable, character of the voice, and text normalization context such as address, date, e-mail, etc.

For prosodic processing, text may be marked with tags that have scope, in the general fashion of XML. Some examples of the form and function of a few common TTS tags for prosodic processing, based loosely on the proposals of [65], are introduced below. Other tags can be added by intermediate subcomponents to indicate variables such as accents and tones. This extension allows for even finer research and prosody models.

- **Pause** or **Break** commands might accept either an absolute duration of silence in milliseconds, or, as in the W3C proposal, a mnemonic describing the relative salience of the pause (Large, Medium, Small, None), or a *prosodic punctuation* symbol from the set ‘,’ ‘.’ ‘?’ ‘!’ ‘...’, etc., which not only indicates a pause insertion but also influences the typical pitch contour of the phone segments entering and leaving the pause area. For example, specifying ‘,’ as the argument of a Pause command might determine the use of a continuation rise on the phones immediately preceding the pause, indicating incompleteness or listing intonation.
- **Rate** controls the speed of output. The usual measurement is *words per minute*, which can be a bit vague, since words are of very different durations. However, this metric is familiar to many TTS users and works reasonably well in practice. For non-Indo-European languages, different metrics must be contemplated. Some power listeners who use a TTS system routinely can tolerate (in fact, demand) rates of over 300 words per minute, while 150 or fewer might be all that a novice listener could expect to reliably comprehend.
- **Baseline Pitch** specifies the desired average pitch: a level around which, or up from which, pitch is to fluctuate.
- **Pitch Range** specifies within what bounds around the baseline pitch level line the pitch is to fluctuate.
- **Pitch** commands can override the system’s default prosody, giving an application or document author greater control. Generally, TTS engines require some freedom to express their typical pitch patterns within the broad limits specified by a Pitch markup.
- **Emphasis** emphasizes or deemphasizes one or more words, signaling their relative importance in an utterance. Its scope could be indicated by XML style. Control over emphasis brings up a number of interesting considerations. For one thing, it may be desirable to have degrees of emphasis. The notion of gradient prominence—the apparent fact that there are no categorical constraints on levels of relative emphasis or accentuation—has been a perpetual thorn in the side for prosodic researchers. This means that in principle any positive real number could be used as an argument to this tag. In practice, most TTS engines would artificially constrain the range of emphasis to a smaller set of integers, or perhaps use semantic labels, such as *strong*, *moderate*, *weak*, *none* for degree of emphasis. Emphasis may be realized with multiple phonetic cues. Thus, if the user or application has, for example, set the pitch range very narrowly, the em-

phasis effect may be achieved by manipulation of segmental duration or even relative amplitude. The implementation of emphasis by a TTS engine for a given word may involve manipulation (e.g., de-accentuation) of surrounding words as much as it involves heightening the pitch or volume, or stretching the phone durations, of the target word itself. In most cases the main phonetic and perceptual effect of emphasis or accentuation is heard on the lexically main stressed syllable of the word, but this can be violated under special conditions of semantic focus, e.g., “*I didn’t say employer, I said employee.*” This would require a more powerful emphasis specification than is currently provided in most TTS systems, but alternatively it could be specified using phone input commands such as “*The <emp>truth</emp>, the <emp>whole truth</emp>, and nothing <emp>but</emp> the truth.*” For more control, future TTS systems may support degree emphasis: “... *nothing <emp level=“strong”>but</emp> the truth*” or even deemphasis: “... *nothing <emp level=“reduced”>but</emp> the truth*”. Emphasis is related to prominence, discussed in Section 15.6.1.2.

15.8. PROSODY EVALUATION

Evaluation of a complete TTS system is discussed in Chapter 16. We limit ourselves here to evaluating the prosody component. We assume that the text analysis module has done a perfect job, and that the synthesis module does perfect job, which cannot be done in general, so that approximations need to be made.

Evaluation can be done automatically or by using listening tests with human subjects. In both cases it’s useful to start with some natural recordings with their associated text. We start by replacing the natural prosody with the system’s synthetic prosody. In the case of automatic evaluation, we can compare the enriched prosodic representations described in Section 15.2 for both the natural recording and the synthetic prosody. The reference enriched prosodic representation can be obtained either manually or by using a pitch tracker and a speech recognizer.

Automated testing of prosody involves the following:

- **Duration.** It can be performed by measuring the average squared difference between each phone’s actual duration in a real utterance and the duration predicted by the system.
- **Pitch** contours. It can be performed by using standard statistical measures over a system contour and a natural one. When this is done, duration and phoneme identity should be completely controlled. Measures such as root-mean-square error indicate the characteristic divergence between two contours, while correlation indicates the similarity in shape across difference pitch ranges. In general, RMSE scores of 15 Hz or less for male speech over a long sentence, with correlation of .8 or above, indicate quality that may be close to perceptually identical to the natural reference utterance. In general, such exactness of match is useful

only during model training and testing and cannot be expected during training on entirely new utterances from random text.

Listening tests can be performed to evaluate a prosody module. This involves subjects listening to the natural recording and the synthetic speech, or to synthetic speech generated with two different prosody modules. This can lead to a more precise evaluation, as humans are the final consumer of this technology. However, such tests are more expensive to carry out. Furthermore, this method results in testing both the prosody module and the synthesis components together. To avoid this, the original waveform can be modified to have the synthetic prosody using the signal processing techniques described in Chapter 16. Since such techniques introduce some distortions, this measuring method is still somewhat biased. In practice, it has been shown that its effect is much smaller than that of the synthetic prosody [43].

It is shown that synthesizing pitch is more difficult than duration [43]. Subjects scored significantly higher utterances that had natural pitch and synthetic duration than utterances with synthetic duration and natural pitch. In fact, using only synthetic duration had a score quite close to that of the original recording. While duration modeling is not a solved problem, this indicates that generation of pitch contours is more difficult.

15.9. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE AND FURTHER READING

Prosodic methods have been incorporated within the traditional fields of rhetoric and elocution for centuries. In ancient Greece, at the time of Plato, written documentation in support of claims in legal disputes was rare. To help litigants plead their cases persuasively, systematic programs of rhetorical instruction were established, which included both content and form of verbal argument. This ‘prescriptive’ tradition of systematic instruction in verbal style uncovered issues that remain central to the descriptively oriented prosodic research of today. A masterful and entertaining discussion of this tradition and its possible relevance to the task of teaching computers to *plead a case* can be found in [64]. The Greeks were particularly concerned about an issue that, as usual, is still important for us today: the separation of rhetorical effectiveness from considerations of truth. If you are interested in this, you cannot do better than to begin with Plato’s dialog *Phaedrus* [42].

Modern linguists have also considered a related, but more narrowly formulated question: Should prosody be treated as a logical, categorical analog to phonological and syntactic processes? The best discussion of these issues from a prosodic (as opposed to strictly neurological) point of view is found in [7, 8]. If you are interested in the neurological side, you can begin with [13]. For emotional modeling, before slogging through the scattered and somewhat disjointed papers on emotion in speech that have appeared sporadically for years, the reader would be well advised to get a basic grounding in some of the issues related to emotion in computation, as treated in [38].

Going in the other direction, there are many subtle interactions in the phonetics of prosody: the various muscles, their joint possibilities of operation in phonation and articulation, as well as the acoustics properties of the vocal chambers. For an excellent introduction to the whole field, start with [27].

The most complete and accessible overview of modern prosodic analysis as embedded in mainstream linguistic theory is Ladd's *Intonational Phonology* [26], which covers the precursors, current standard practice, and remaining unsolved issues of the highly influential auto segmental theory of intonational phonology, from which ToBI has arisen. ToBI was devised by speech scientists who wanted a prosodic transcription standard to enable sharing of databases [4]. For most practical purposes, the ToBI definitions are sufficient as a starting point for both research and applications, but for those who prefer alternative annotation systems aligned with the British tradition, conversion guidelines have been attempted [45]. Another major phonological approach to English intonation has been the British school described in [11]. Bridging the two is IViE, a labeling system that is philosophically aligned with ToBI but may be more appropriate for non-U.S. dialects of English [18].

The first prosodic synthesis by rule was developed by Ignatius Mattingly in 1968 in Haskins Laboratories. In 1971, Fujisaki [15] developed his superposition model that has been used for many years. The development of the ToBI in 1992 [55] marked a milestone in automatic prosody generation. The application of statistical techniques, such as CART, for phoneme durations during the 1990s constituted a significant step beyond the rule-based methods. Finally, the development of the CHATR system in the mid-1990s ignited interest in the indexing of massive databases. It is possible to attempt smoothing over both the index space and the resulting prosodic data tracks by means of generalized learning methods, such as neural nets or HMMs. These models have built-in generalization over unseen inputs, and built-in smoothing over the concatenated outputs of unit selection. The network described in [57] codes every syllable in a training database in terms of perceived prominence (human judged), a number from 1 to 31, as well as the syllable's phonemes, rising/falling boundary type for phrase-edge syllables, and distance from preceding and following phrase boundaries, for all syllables. When tested with reasonably simple text material of similar type, these networks yielded high-quality simulations.

A potential research area for future generalizations of this system is to increase the degree and accuracy of automation in labeling the training features of the recordings, such as perceived prominence. Another area is to either expand the inventory of model types, or to determine adequate generalization mechanisms. By training HMMs on accented syllables of differing phonetic structure, some of this fine alignment information can be automatically captured [16]. Another approach consists in generating pitch contours directly from a hidden Markov model, which is run in generation mode [66].

Recently, just as in speech synthesis for voice, there has been a realization that the *direct* and *parametric* prosodic models have a great deal in common. Direct models require huge databases of indexed exemplars for unmediated concatenation and playback of contours, in addition to generalized back-off methods, while parametric models are generalized for any input, but also require phonetic databases of sufficient variety to support statistical learning of parameter settings for high quality. We can, therefore, expect to see increasing numbers of hybrid systems. One such system is described in [47], which could be viewed as a stochastic realization of Fujisaki's superposition model without the phrase controls, where the accents are given by ToBI labels and the smoothing is done by means of a dynamical system.

While this chapter has focused on U.S. English, many similar issues arise in prosodic modeling of other languages. An excellent survey of the prosodic systems of every major European language, as well as Arabic and several major East Asian languages, can be found in [21].

Though not explicitly covered in this chapter, analysis of prosody for speech recognition is a small but growing area of study. Anyone who has digested this chapter should be prepared to approach the more specialized work of [25, 37] and the speech recognition prosody studies collected in [48]. Those with a psycholinguistic bent can begin with [12].

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